NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME V.---NO. 52. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 29, 1845. WHOLE NUMBER 260.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy,
} Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Bangor Gazette.

SLAVE-WHIPPING IN NEW ORLEANS.

Our fellow-citizen, Jeremiah Curtis, Esq. in a speech recently made in this city, stated that whilst in New Orleans, not long since, he was informed by his steward, an exemplary member of a Christian church, who had been taken from his vessel, and thrust into the "calaboose," under the laws of Louisiana, because God had given him a skin somewhat colored—that the public whippings were inflicted there in the morning, and that if he would come early in the day, he would have the opportunity of witnessing them. Desirous of acquainting himself with Slavery in all its operations, Mr. C. went early the next morning to the prison, and there witnessed the merciless application of the lash to the naked backs of men and women. He learned that the regulations of the city required that, when slaves were to be punished, they should be whipped by the public whipping-master at the calaboose—the number of lashes should not exceed twenty-five. The fee for the infliction was a cent a lash. The whip used had a short handle and long lash, which the master, standing at a good distance, handled so "scientifically," that every stroke brought the flesh, and the blood flowed in streams down the back of the victim.

At the time Mr. Curtis went to take his steward away, the whipping-master came out of the calaboose, with his hands covered with blood, and remarked:

"There, that is the most obstinate nigger that I ever saw!"

Mr. C. then went into the calaboose, and there saw a black with his throat cut, and lying upon the floor in a pool of blood. On inquiry, he learned that the man had been a slave, who had always sustained a most estimable character; that he had ever done all in his power to please his master; that he had never been punished, but that for some imagined offence his master had now sent him up for a whipping, and to be placed in the chain-gang, and that he had declared he never would submit to that. When the time came for the execution of the punishment, and he was satisfied by the entrance of the whipping-master, that there was no reprieve, he drew his knife across his throat, and fell upon the floor, and shortly afterwards was a corpse!

What a commentary is this upon the oft-repeated text, "the slaves are contented and happy."

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

A WEEK IN RICHMOND.

Anxious that the following soul-harrowing statements should not escape the eye of a single reader of the Visiter, we have caused them to be "leaded," and put in the most prominent place possible.

To the Editor of the Visiter:

Having just returned from Richmond, Va. I have thought it might no. be amiss for me to make, through your paper, a statement of my own impressions while in the "Old Dominion." I went there as a Northern man, and of course with northern prejudices, yet not as a "fanatical Abolitionist." I determined to divest myself, as far as possible, of local prejudices, and become an impartial observer. In examining the system of Slavery, as it exists in Richmond, I found much to approve; but I am sorry to be compelled to notice some things that I could but disapprove and censure.

In many instances I observed that the slaves were well treated. I observed, too, that frequently they could read, and in most families, where an altar had been erected for the worship of God, morning and evening, the servants mingled with their masters around it, and sometimes even led in the devotions. I also attended meetings with the colored people in several places. Everybody seemed happy. They were well clad—indeed in this last respect they would hardly suffer when compared with their masters. On these and many other points, I was most happily disappointed. And now, after I have said so much of what I approved, you must allow me to be equally free in stating that which I could not approve.

As a Northern man I had a natural curiosity to visit the slave-prisons and slave-markets, of which I had so often heard, in order to see if such sights were there, as human flesh sold in the shambles! I found the prisons most filthy and loathsome places, unfit for any business transacted by any man possessed of feelings of humanity. In these damp, dark, and dismal abodes, whose very walls were cemented by the blood of sundered hearts, are these human wares kept! From the prisons I went to the market; and there I saw, day after day, what my pen could not describe—what *modesty forbids me to describe* in a paper read by the fair sex! In a number of cases I saw young females examined in a manner highly revolting to every virtuous feeling and sensibility—and this too, by *young men*. In one instance, at least, questions were asked which were most revolting and obscene. During these scenes, the victims manifested as much delicacy of feeling as the sex are capable of manifesting. But I forbear; it seems to me that such scenes must have an awful demoralizing influence on any city or community where they are allowed. Among many slaves I saw sold to what, (even were I a Virginian,) I would consider land sharks or cannibals—I will mention but one.

A woman (nearly white) with her four children, the youngest in her arms, being brought in for sale, "one or the lot, to suit purchasers," the father and husband was permitted to be a spectator; and I assure you that his appearance indicated that he was not an idle spectator. Every few moments, with his eyes suffused with tears, he would embrace his wife with a kiss, and take his little ones in his arms, and press them to his bosom, placing a father's seal of love on their little cheeks! At length the sale commenced; and they were sold, one after another, and separated forever—unless they be so happy as to meet in that "better land," which God grant! I will not attempt to describe the feelings of my heart, as I turned from the scene—for it would be impossible. The sensibilities of my soul were aroused, and my heart, for the moment, almost forgot to beat—my eyes only were alive. I remembered that I too had a wife—but now she is not, for God hath taken her; and I too am a father—but one of my little ones sleeps by the side of its mother in the deep damp vault. While standing a witness to these scenes, reminiscences of the past crowded thick upon my mind. I turned from the scene pained and disgusted—may I not add *humbled*, for I have always felt proud of my country, and especially had I felt a kind of pride, as I entered Virginia, the land of Washington, and the mother of Presidents and Statesmen—the heart of what I had been taught to regard as the finest and purest land that ever saw the sun.

As I left the scenes above described, I was told by ministers of our holy religion (I am sorry to say it) that the slaves had no natural affection, &c. This I could not believe, for I had too much evidence to the contrary, in the scenes I had witnessed.

Now, Dr. Snodgrass, you are, I believe, a Virginian, and therefore know what I have said is true. I appeal to you and ask, ought such things to be? Is it not the duty of the press and the pulpit to speak out on this subject? Pardon me, if I have seemed severe; and remember that the severity is in the facts described. While I mean no wrong to any one, I desire to plead for the right. I am, yours, &c.

A MASSACHUSETTS CLERGYMAN.

Pro-Slavery.

From the American (Philadelphia) Citizen.

HOW IS SLAVERY TO BE ABOLISHED?

That Slavery in our land is a doomed institution, no one will deny. With the exception of a small number of ultra slaveholders at the South, nearly all unite in its condemnation, as a system injurious to the physical, social, and moral welfare of the whole people. Is it to be removed by legislation or revolution? These are the only alternatives presented to the nation. History furnishes no instance where Slavery or any evil of the kind has ever been removed except in one or the other of these ways. The Liberty party proposes to abolish it by legislation, to be brought about by the peaceful and constitutional use of the ballot-box. A number of individuals, comprising but a small portion of the Abolitionists of the country, have presented to us the other alternative, that of *revolution*. What is the revolution which they propose?

At a Convention of this class of Abolitionists held in New Bedford, Massachusetts, about two months since, the business committee, of which William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, and Wendell Phillips, the three prominent men in this movement, were members, reported through Mr. Garrison, their chairman, the following among other resolutions:

"Resolved, That the great, vital, decisive issue with Slavery is, *the immediate dissolution of the American Union:* that any action short of this, is to enter into a guilty compromise with oppression and blood-guiltiness: and, therefore, that the rallying cry of the uncompromising champions of liberty will be, at all times, and under all circumstances, to the end of the conflict—'No union with slaveholders.' Therefore,

"Resolved, That Anti-Slavery is a glorious REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT for the institution of a new Government, the vindication of the inalienable rights of all mankind, and the eternal overthrow of every form of tyranny."

Here, then, are their objects distinctly set forth—1st, the Dissolution of the Union, and the consequent overthrow of the present Government—and 2d, the institution of a new Government, and we suppose somewhere in the course of this "glorious revolutionary movement" Slavery is to be abolished. How are these things to be accomplished? Are we told, by "moral suasion?" How is this moral suasion to bring about these results? Will the people voluntarily and peaceably dissolve the Union? Will those who now have the Government in their hands quietly lay it down, and look on with folded arms while a new Government is instituted? The moral suasion employed will induce either *legislation* or *forcible revolution*. These people have repudiated the use of the ballot-box. They profess to be men and women of peace. Many of them, probably the large majority, are non-resistants; and yet are advocating measures which, if carried out, would produce, according to their own showing, one of the most cruel and bloody revolutions with which the race of mankind has ever been cursed. Suppose they should be successful in bringing about a dissolution of the Union. What then? Stephen S. Foster, one of their ablest lecturers, quotes the Marysville (Tennessee) Intelligencer, to show that in case the Union were dissolved, the slaves would at once resort to insurrection to secure their freedom. He also quotes a speech of Mr. Arnold, of Tennessee, delivered on the floor of Congress, in which Mr. Arnold speaks of the peaceable dissolution of the Union as a contradiction in terms; implying that the Union could not be dissolved without bloodshed; and that in case it were dissolved, "a million of slaves were ready to rise and strike for freedom, at the first tap of the drum." At the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery, Society held in the city of New-York on the sixth instant, Miss Hitchcock, one of the orators of the occasion, asserted that it was the Constitution of the American Union which prevented the slaves of the South from rising to assert their liberty. In her opinion they lack not the manly courage to do it, and in the case of the dissolution of the Union, it would be done. Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave, another of the speakers at the Anniversary meeting, expressed similar views. Said he: "Leave us to take care of our masters, and we will be free."

The original idea of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society of a peaceful, bloodless emancipation, is entirely laid aside. DISSOLUTION and REVOLUTION are the rallying cries. Suppose the Union dissolved, and the slaves make the attempt to secure their freedom—is it altogether certain that they would be successful! True, they have been wronged, grossly wronged and outraged. True, they would be fighting for their unalienable rights, but they would be contending with a foe much more numerous than themselves, superior in intellectual cultivation, better disciplined, possessing arms, and all the munitions of war, while they would be comparatively destitute of everything to render them victorious in such an awful contest. Should the war cry be raised, it is not improbable that the result would be the massacre of at least two-thirds of the blacks, and one-third of the whites, before the dreadful cry would be hushed. And are the people of this land about to embark in a movement of this kind? Will the peace-loving followers of William Penn, aid in the consummation of such a bloody revolution? Is this the purpose for which the anti-slavery movement was started? Is it to secure these results that the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was formed? And how is the present Government to be overthrown without civil war and bloodshed?

And in case they should be successful in overthrowing the existing Government, what are we to have in its place? Will the new Government be despotic, monarchical, or republican? The people of this land, we think, will weigh well these questions before they embark in this "glorious revolutionary movement."

The Liberty party occupy the original platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society,—that of *moral and political action*. Their grand instrumentality is *moral suasion* in order to induce the people to use their *political power* for the peaceful and constitutional overthrow of Slavery. **

From the Christian Advocate and Journal.

CHURCH DIFFICULTIES.

Dr. Thomas E. Bond,—Dear Brother:—I am a personal stranger to you, and an obscure member of the Mississippi Annual Conference, and I have not taken any part in our church difficulties; but, perhaps, very few have felt more deeply or keenly on the subject than I do. I have labored near twenty years to serve and build up our beloved Methodism. But I now feel very much like the "*disowned*;" and I know not how soon I shall be proscribed from all parties, North and South. I can take no part whatever with our Southern leaders in carving up the bride of my Master: neither can I go with them, *at my peril*. I dare not touch, or bid them God-speed. I have already felt in part, and seen what this is to cost me. But I stand ready, grace assisting me, to give up property and character first, and then to lay down my life with them, and still to love and pray for the church till death, and in death.

While I stand in this attitude to the South, I am inseparably involved in the evils of the Slavery question; and unless my brethren who remain in the *old ship* will permit me to remain with them, (for this I will do, by the grace of God, till I die, if they will permit me,) I know not where to go, or what to do. I once tried to free my people, but I could not succeed; and the thing is as impracticable now as it was then. I did not do this on account of any excitement of public feeling, but from Christian principle; and when I failed, from Christian principle and feeling I kept, and did the best I could with my poor slaves. I was born a slaveholder, and am still held and firmly bound to the same, though it cost me my membership in the church of my choice and of my affections. I have not changed a solitary feeling or view on the subject during more than twenty years' connection with the church. Though darkness, thorns, and even death beset my path, I will still try to trust my God, and fear no evil. While aiming at the right, and laboring to do right, I believe God will make whatever he permits or appoints concerning me to work for his glory, and my good.

Yours, in love,
BENJAMIN A. HOUGHTON.

YAZOO COUNTY, Miss. February 26, 1845.

Our brother speaks of being "permitted to remain in the old church." We ask, who has proposed, or who has the power to expel him? We know of no rule of discipline, made by the late General Conference, which has changed his relation to the church, nor do we apprehend the passage of any such rule; and without a change in the Discipline no General Conference can put the humblest member of the church out her pale by geographical lines of separation, or otherwise. Membership in our church cannot be lost but by voluntary withdrawal, or upon conviction of disobedience to the discipline of the church Our brother is, he says, unwittingly a slaveholder. We pity him, but dare not condemn or proscribe him. If he cannot free his slaves without subjecting them to greater evils than Slavery inflicts, he must bear his burden, humbly looking for grace to do his duty to them, with an eye single to the glory of God. His brethren of the old church will continue to extend to him, and to all who are similarly circumstanced, the right hand of fellowship; for we know that there are circumstances which render it not only right, but duty, to preserve the legal relation of an owner of slaves. The body of Methodists, lay and clerical, consider Slavery a great evil, and *slaveholding for gain a sin;* but they hold it equally true that a slaveholder ought to disregard all abstraction on this subject, and do his duty under the guidance of common sense and Scripture; and his duty will be apparent from the commandment to love his neighbor—which includes his slaves—as himself?

To all our brethren, South and Southwest, who are opposed to division, we again say, abide in your present relation, come what will. The members of Annual Conferences who do not secede, will be recognized in their present relation by the Methodist Episcopal Church, whether many or few, or wherever they reside or labor; and churches, or portions of churches, which do not voluntarily dissolve their present connection with the old church, will be acknowledged in the connection in which they have heretofore stood, and loved and cherished the more for their faithfulness in the time of trial.—ED.

From the Congregational Journal, Concord, New Hampshire.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday evening at the Tabernacle, the proceedings of which we copy from the *Journal of Commerce*. It will be seen that the leaders in the Society avow nothing short of the purpose of overturning both the American Constitution and the American churches; Christianity and civil Government are alike to feel their vengeful hand, while the abolition of Slavery is either forgotten, or becomes a secondary question. Evidently these sorry demagogues would go into sackcloth and mourning the day the last slave should be set free; for that would be the end of their figuring, their mendacity, and their craft.

The Slave-Trade.

From the Baltimore Visiter.

OPINION OF THE COURT IN THE CASE OF CAPTAIN PENDLETON.

The following is the opinion of the Court, in the case of *Jason L. Pendleton*, indicted in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Maryland, for piracy, as being engaged in the Slave-Trade on the coast of Africa, the proceedings of whose trial, have already been published in the *Visiter*. It is too important to the great interests of humanity, to be passed over.

Chief Justice Taney, in delivering the opinion of the Court, stated that it was a case of great importance, and if the Court entertained any doubt upon the subject, they would take further time for consideration; but they had followed the argument of counsel carefully, and the opinion of the Court being clear and decided, he would briefly state the result.

That with regard to the first objection to the indictment argued by the counsel, the Court felt no difficulty. The party was charged with having aided and abetted, in the commission of the capital felony mentioned—that being thus charged with an offence in a secondary character, according to both principle and authority, the indictment should have contained an averment of some principal whom he had aided and abetted; that the entire omission to charge or aver such principal offender in the indictment was a fatal error. This view it was thought was fully sustained by the case of the United States *vs.* Mills, 7. Peters—and the case of the United States *vs.* Gooding in 12 Wheaton, decided by the Supreme Court, and cited at the Bar.

That this objection being in the opinion of the Court fatal to the indictment, it was unnecessary to speak of the other objections urged against it. Yet with a view to future practice, he would say that the impression of the Court was, that one or more of these objections were also well founded, particularly the one that points to the want of proper averments showing the jurisdiction of the Court.

That if the Court thought the decision of the case turned exclusively upon the defects of the indictment, and that the case could be maintained upon a proper one, they would place the decision in such a form as would enable the Government, if it thought proper, to have it reviewed in the Supreme Court. But regarding, as the Court did, the construction of the law as very clear, and that the prisoner could not upon the present evidence be convicted of the crime described in the statute, they proceeded to instruct the Jury—that the prisoner was indicted for aiding and abetting in confining and detaining negroes on board the Montevideo, the indictment being framed under the 5th section of the Act of 1820, by which such aiding and abetting by any one being of the crew of the vessel, is made a capital felony, and punishable with death. The Court are of opinion, that the section under which the prisoner was indicted relates entirely to acts done while the negroes were confined and detained on board the vessel, and that in order to convict the prisoner of the offence described in that section, it must appear that he aided and abetted in confining them while the negroes were so on board, and while the prisoner was one of the ship's crew or company. That as to acts done previous to their coming on board, up to the time of receiving them, they were provided for in the fourth section, under which the prisoner was not indicted, and under which he could not be indicted, unless he participated in some of the acts therein mentioned, as that section provides no punishment for the aider and abettor.

If the fifth section had stood alone in the law, the acts offered in evidence must have been regarded as aiding and abetting in the confinement of the slaves, and so indeed would have been all acts done upon the coasts of Africa, in preparing the vessel for their reception and confinement. But the whole law must be taken together, and in a case of life or death its construction cannot be extended beyond the legitimate import of its words. And the fourth section having specified the acts intended to be punished before and up to the time the negroes were received on board, the fifth section cannot be construed as embracing the same act or acts done at that period of time, because if it did, it would lead to this absurdity, that those declared to be principal offenders in the fourth section would be made mere accessories by the fifth. For, undoubtedly those who decoyed or forced the negroes on board aided and abetted in their confinement, and would be liable to punishment as such under the fifth section if the fourth had not provided for these specific acts, and made the parties committing them principal offenders.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

THE SLAVER SPITFIRE.

The officers and crew of this vessel were before the United States Commissioner, at Boston, on Thursday, for examination. Their names are Peter Flowery, captain; Ferdinand Weltz, William Otters, Henry Tangerman, William Turner, William Pense Frederick Ennes, Antonio Del Mijo, and Ebenezer Jackson.

Four others—Robert Smith, Thomas Turner, J. C. Parker, and William Dawson, being part of the crew of the schooner Manchester, which sailed from Boston last year for the coast of Africa—were brought home in the United States Brig Truxton, which captured the Spitfire, as witnesses. They were also before the Commissioner, who committed them for want of bail to appear and testify.

The charge against the officers and crew of the Spitfire was, that they shipped on board the Spitfire, at New Orleans, on the 10th of last December, knowing that she was to be engaged in the Slave-Trade, and took part in fitting her out for that purpose. To this charge they pleaded "not guilty."

In support of the charge, the following deposition was read, having been made by Thomas Turner, one of the four men from the Manchester:

"August 6th, 1844, at Baltimore, Turner shipped on board the schooner Manchester, as mate, under the command of Morgan S. Gordon; was to serve not exceeding nine months, and perform a trading voyage on the west coast of Africa. Sailed from Boston September 22d, with a trading cargo; had no handcuffs on board. Touched first at Pongo River—remained there three weeks. The Manchester was wrecked at Cape Mount, west coast of Africa, on the 24th of February. I knew a vessel built in the United States, named the "Caballero." I knew her in Baltimore, November, 1843. I saw her on the 11th of February last, in the river Pongo.

"The last time I saw her, she had painted on her stern, 'Spitfire, of New Orleans.' I saw landing from her, water-cask staves. I supposed her business was to take on board a cargo of slaves, because, 1st. She had two captains, an American captain and a Spanish captain; 2d. All her goods were consigned to the owner of the slave factory off which she was moored; 3d. Her appearance was that of a vessel built for speed rather than cargo; 4th. Her having water-cask shooks on board. The owner of the factery at Rio Pongo, was P. Faber.

"I entered on board the schooner Caballero, at Baltimore, Maryland, on the 11th day of November, 1843, in the capacity of seaman and carpenter, to perform a voyage to the west coast of Africa, having been assured by Morgan S. Gordon, then master of the Caballero, that she was to make a trading voyage to the coast. Not being able to procure a clearance from the Baltimore Custom-House, we sailed to New-York, with a "coasting license," having on board all the cargo intended for the African coast. At New-York the Cabellero was cleared for the coast of Africa. We sailed from New-York on the 27th day of November, 1843, and arrived in the Rio Pongo, west coast of Africa, in the latter part of December.

"We ascended the Rio Pongo, to Mr. P. Faber's slave factory, where we discharged all the vessel's cargo, and took in water and ballast. We sailed from the Rio Pongo and proceeded to Prince's Island, where we took on board eighteen casks, of about one hundred and twenty gallons each, called palm oil casks, and returned to Rio Pongo, touching on the way at Grand Bassa. On arriving in the Rio Pongo, the vessel was again moored near Mr. Faber's slave factory. Preparations were then made to take on board a cargo of slaves, by filling the so-called palm oil casks, and thirty-five other casks, with water, these having been brought from the United States in shooks, a part of the Caballero's cargo—getting on board, wood, rice, &c. During the time of these operations the Cabarello was under the American flag.

"She was then sold to Mr. P. Faber, for the sum of $10,000, and her name was scratched off her stern. She then went down the river and anchored just inside the bar. At this anchorage we took on board three hundred and forty-six slaves; then got underway and proceeded immediately to the island of Cuba, and landed the cargo of slaves at a point about thirty miles to windward of Mantanzas. From the time of the vessel's sale to Mr. P. Faber, up to this period, no flag was hoisted on board her, and she bore no name on her stern. After the slaves were landed, the vessel was delivered over to the Spaniards where she lay.

"The vessel I left lying in the Rio Pongo, on the 11th of February last, named the Spitfire, of New Orleans, and supposed to be lying there now, is the same vessel whose slaving voyage to the West Indies I have described above. The said vessel always hoists American colors when the British man-of-war boats come in sight of her."

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Chandler, of counsel for the prisoners, said he would at present interpose no objection to their being committed to await the action of the grand jury; and the Commissioner so disposed of them. The Boston Post says:

"Captain Flowery, rather a short man, is apparently about fifty years of age, and belongs to New-York. The other prisoners are young men; six of them are Germans or Dutchmen, and the other two half-breeds—Mijo is half Spanish and half Indian, and Jackson half Spanish and half negro. The white men appear as respectable as any company of foremast hands that may be met with on board any vessel."

In the Boston Atlas we find the subjoined letter, from an officer of the Truxton, giving the particulars of the Spitfire's capture:

U. S. BRIG TRUXTON, OFF SIERRA LEONE RIVER, March 29, 1845.

Here we are, in tow of her Britannic Majesty's steamer Ardent, with an American schooner our prize, and a Spanish brigantine, prize to the steamer, captured in the Rio Pongas, one hundred miles to the northward. We had good information, when we left Monrovia, that there was a vessel in the Ponga, waiting a cargo; and our arrival off the river, finding an English man-of-war steamer, arrangements were made to send a combined boat expedition to make captures for both vessels.

They proceeded about fifty miles from the anchorage outside the bar, carrying English colors all the way. On coming in sight, our little schooner ran up the American ensign to protect herself from any suspicion, when our boats, after running alongside of her, changed their ensigns, and produced the stripes and stars, much to the astonishment of those on board. She proved to be the Spitfire, of New Orleans, and ran a cargo of slaves from the same place last year; of only about 100 tons, but, though, of so small a size, stowed 346 negroes, and landed near Mantanzas, Cuba, 359.

Between her decks, where the slaves are packed, there is not room enough for a man to sit, unless inclining his head forward. Their food, half a pint of rice per day, with one pint of water. No one can imagine the sufferings of slaves, on their passage across, unless the conveyances in which they are taken can be examined. Our friend had none on board, but his cargo of three hundred were ready in a barracoon, waiting a good opportunity to start. A good hearty negro costs but twenty dollars, or thereabouts, and is purchased for rum, powder, tobacco, cloth, &c. They bring from three to four hundred dollars in Cuba. The English are doing everything in their power to prevent the slave-trade, and keep a force of thirty vessels on this coast, all actively cruising. This large force is to be very much increased shortly.

APRIL 4th.—Our prize is all ready, and sails for Boston, to-morrow, under charge of Lieut. Reid, with all the necessary papers and documents to condemn her. I am glad that the ice has been broken, and that we have been the ship to do it.

I have been frequently on shore here, and received every attention from the people. I mean the white residents. We are all well on board, including all those who were engaged in the boat expedition.

It was expected that many would be taken down; but our good fortune has sent us here during the healthiest season of the year, and we have been favored every way since our arrival on the coast. We leave to-morrow, also, for the Cape de Verds, and a pleasure excursion among the Canary Islands, returning to Port Praya in fifty days from our departure. We are in great hopes that we have seen the last of the coast, as all are heartily tired of it, and anxious to get home. Our prize may hasten us, as we believe the captain intends to defend himself.

Selections.

BISHOP ONDERDONK AND THE COLORED EPISCOPALIANS OF NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK, March 8th, 1845.

John Jay, Esq.—Respected Sir,—In a pamphlet, which recently appeared in this city, allusions are made to yourself, in relation to the colored people of this city, which has excited in our minds mingled emotions of surprise and sorrow.

The writer, under the signature of a "Looker on," quotes extracts from a letter of the vestry of St. Philip's Church, in this city, addressed to Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, endeavoring to show from it that while you have seen occasion of complaint, in regard to the treatment of colored Episcopalians, no such occasion existed; and that the colored Episcopalians of this city regarded your sentiments with disapprobation and dislike.

This letter is adduced as evidence, that colored Episcopalians have had no cause of complaint against Bishop Onderdonk, in any of his official acts towards them; and, that your animadversions respecting his acts were uncalled for, injudicious, and mischievous.

We take issue with "Looker on;" and, without expressing any opinion in regard to the trial, or the character of Bishop Onderdonk in his recent difficulties, WE PROTEST against the effort here made by him, to place the colored people of the city in opposition to one, whom we honor as a most devoted and honorable advocate of our rights.

The letter of St. Philip's Church vestry, however indicative of thankfulness for favors received from their late Diocesan, must not be wrested into an expression of the opinion of the people of that parish, in regard to the Bishop's treatment of colored clergyman, and colored candidates for orders on the one hand—or, of your animadversions upon the same, on the other.

The vestry of St. Philip's Church never intended any such opinion, or expression to be conveyed; and, we know that we do not presume the least, when we declare that the parish of St. Philip's do not regard ecclesiastical equality as "amalgamation," as "Looker on" terms it—are opposed to Caste in the Church—are anxious for the destruction of the hurtful and injudicious usages which are maintained in society to the detriment of colored men, and in the words of your revered grandfather, ardently desire—

"That the time may soon come, when all our inhabitants of every color and denomination, may be free and equal partakers of political liberty."

"Looker on" has been pleased to introduce the question of Abolition into this most unfortunate difficulty of Bishop Onderdonk; and doing so, aims to represent us, for whom you and other noble men have sacrificed so much, as unthankful for your efforts, and as deprecating your exertions.

Between "Looker on" and ourselves, there is a broad and impassable issue. Between him, and us, upon this point, there is an utter lack of sympathy. We can allow *no man* to place *us*—colored men—the proscribed class—crushed race—in opposition to our friends.

We do appreciate your efforts on our behalf. We do honor your exertions for the freedom and enfranchisement of our people.

Mr. Jay, we would express our grateful regard, our warm feelings towards you, for your disinterested and earnest humanity.

Hailing the glorious fact of a young man of your name and character, your advantages and prospects, closing your ears to the enticements of popularity, and calmly choosing the almost deserted pathway of philanthropy and freedom—as a most auspicious event for the country, and the cause of justice.

We would cheer you on in your humane course, with the fervent hope that "Caste in the Church" may soon be extirpated, and Slavery and prejudice in the State may soon be destroyed; and that the happy day may be reached in good time, when those principles shall become predominant, and those feelings common which have been hereditary in your family, and characteristic of the thrice honored name of Jay.

[Signed.]

George De Grasse,	Boston Crummel,
John Peterson,	Ransom F. Wake,
John I. Zuille,	Francis Bastian,
Samuel Waldron,	Geo. T. Downing,
Henry M. Brown,	Daniel F. A. Tilghman,
Samuel S. Rankins,	George H. Greene,
James L. Hagerman,	Henry Williams,
Theod. C. B. Nical,	F. Harley,
Edward F. Marshall,	Thomas Jennings, Jr.
Joseph Sylvere,	Benjamin Stanly,
James C. Cowes,	Wm. A. Tyson,
Edward Crosby,	Daniel J. Elston,
Edward J. Cills,	James Barnett,
W. H. Garribrance,	Thomas Downing,
Wm. A. ——	Wm. C. Innis,
Charles L. Reason,	Wm. N. Scudder,

A. V. Pierce.

NEW-YORK, April, 1845.

I thank you heartily my worthy friends, for your warm-hearted letter, called forth by some late remarks of an anonymous pamphleteer, in connection with an Address of the Vestry of St. Philip's Church, to Bishop Onderdonk. I am well aware that the little I have accomplished in the Christian warfare, now waging against the heathenish systems of Caste and Slavery, entitles me not to the liberal thanks and flattering words which your kindness has prompted; but I do not the less appreciate the motives, which would thus reward me beyond my deserving; and, apart from the personal interest which I have in your letter, I rejoice at the manly and generous spirit which it exhibits, in the prompt and indignant disclaimer of the feelings so unjustifiably imputed to you, of hostility or indifference towards those who are seeking to restore to you the sacred rights both in the Church and in the State, which men calling themselves Christian have dared to outrage and to deny.

The peculiarity of your situation imposes upon you high and solemn duties, from which your language assures me you are not disposed to shrink. The race to which you belong, dwelling in this land of boasted freedom and equality,—under a system of Government which, in the daily contradiction of its practical institutions and theoretical truths, presents to the world the most tremendous lie, with which any nation has hitherto blasphemed the God of Heaven,—are called to suffer persecution, not as a punishment for any act of their own: but simply because it pleased the Almighty when He created them in his own image, a little lower than the angels, to shade their complexions with a darker hue than that of their pale-faced brethren. Bowed down from generation to generation, not by those alone, who, like the persecutors of the early Christians openly reviled the Redeemer, but by many alas! who officiate in his courts, and profess to recognize, in the most abject of his creatures, an equal brother, and who claim to be distinguished from the rest of the world by the superior excellence of their principles and the holier graces of their lives; it is little to be wondered at, that some of your people have been deluded into the belief, so often inculcated from the pulpit, and enforced with the authority of the Episcopate, that it is their duty to submit without a murmur to whatever indignities your *white* brethren may at any time be pleased to offer you. You know well the inferences that have been drawn from such tame acquiescence on your part, and the unhappy results to which tyranny thus emboldened has given birth. You are charged with possessing a servile spirit, which the most insolent oppression cannot arouse. Scientific pretenders endeavor to prove by the aid of philosophy, that you are irrevocably destined to an inferior position; and your forbearance under past injuries is adduced to verify the impious proposition, and is made the argument and motive for continued insults. Too many of your people have allowed their energies to slumber until the possession of energies has been denied them. They have bowed to oppression so meekly, that irreverent scoffers declare they were only created to be slaves; and thus have they become the involuntary apologists and abettors of the wrongs committed against your fathers and yourselves, and which, if not ended by your firmness, will be the sad heritage of your children.

I do not mention these facts as having any reference to yourselves, save as increasing your responsibilities. They form no argument against the manly and the true—but faithlessness on the part of others increases the necessity for faithfulness on your own. The spirit of servility is found not alone among the colored people. Power, and wealth, and fashion, sway in every class its cringing slaves. In the politics of our country it is exhibited in its most revolting form. It walks unblushingly through the land, and sits unhooded in the church; and did the principle obtain that all who were governed by this spirit deserve the name of slaves, not even poets would venture to call our land by its present nominal appelation, "the land of the free."

The duty rests upon you to vindicate the dignity of your race and the honor of your Creator; to disprove the bold slander, that you are unfit for freedom, that you despise all liberty that is attended by privations, and hanker, like the ungrateful Israelites in the desert, for the cursed flesh-pots of Egypt. Let not others snatch away, nor conceal yourselves within a napkin, the glorious powers which Heaven has given to you; and despite the clamor of the rabble, and the vain teachings of those who say, "Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord hath not spoken," know that the right of the king to his sceptre, and of the Bishop to his mitre, are far less positive, and less holy, than your right to the exercise of the heaven-born faculties wherewith God has endowed you.

In the recovering of these rights which servile legislators have infringed, and upon which an unholy prejudice daily tramples, your friends can do little unless you labor with them. Be true to yourselves. Acquiesce not in one single act of injustice. Encourage not its repetition by your silence. Repel aggression by lawful means, and where you cannot repel, protest loudly against it; and then, if the evil must come, suffer and bear it. The glory of endurance will be yours—the disgrace of the infliction will belong solely to those who cause it: and remembering this, your own consciences being clear, you will feel less disposed to be angry with your persecutors, for their dark treachery, than to pity them for their mean cowardice and their deep dishonor.

As members of that branch of the Christian Church, described by one of its divines as "Catholic for every truth of God, Protestant against every error of man," you are bound by sacred ties to vindicate her outraged honor. She has been made the bulwark of the foulest system of oppression that ever cursed the world, and it has been gravely proposed by one of her periodicals to fatten her Missions on the blood of slaves. The prejudice, as contemptible as it is wicked, which debars you from so many rights and privileges, has been fostered in her bosom. Her seminary has been closed to your candidates, her Conventions have been barred against your clergy—God's holiest verities have been denied; man's basest errors have been affirmed; and it has really seemed of late years, as if the Great Head of the Church, in displeasure at her moral impurity, has allowed her to be blinded to the clearest spiritual truths. The fear of pecuniary loss, and of popular displeasure, have been recognized by some who were her dignitaries, as sufficient motives for abandoning her glorious mission of being in the midst of sin and error the pillar of the Truth. She has bowed in abasement before the lowest rabble, and their cry of "Amalgamation," echoed as it was in this Diocese from the very seat of the Episcopate, has been allowed by clamorous admirers of primitive catholicity, to sunder wide her boasted unity.

But another spirit has been awakened in our midst, and a brighter day has dawned upon the Church. The spurious temporizing catholicity, boastful in words but meagre in acts, sacrificing duty to interest, and high principle to base expediency—the bastard catholicity that would make the Church the apologist, the defender, the perpetrator of the more cowardly and meaner vices that disgrace the slaves of sin; that would narrow her portals and declare the color of the skin a test of orthodoxy, introducing into the temples of the Most Highest a system of caste with which the heathen worshippers of Juggernaut would not dare to insult the wooden idol;—the hollow-hearted catholicity that would speak so smoothly and act so treacherously, professing to pity the victim while it aimed the blow—which denounced with affected horror at the disturbance of the peace of the Church, every attempt to restore the unity which it had shattered, even while itself was sundering the cords of Christian fellowship, which has given an untold influence to infidelity,—lent strength and influence to corruption—retarded the progress of philanthropic reform, and given to our Church ashes for beauty;—this sensual, false-souled, time-serving spirit, so long predominant in our councils, is now, I trust, exorcised forever. Nor will it soon again be deemed a worthy and magnanimous act for dignitaries, high in place and power, to offer insult and wrong to their more humble colored brethren, and the stern rebuke which such cruel and cowardly conduct has called forth from our mother church of England, will, for a long time to come, cause the boldest of these clerical oppressors to hang their heads in shame.

From the past, then, gather courage, and prove your attachment to the Church which claims you as her children, by holding fast the privileges which she accords you, and which none but faithless ministers would persuade you to relinquish. The great and the good will uphold you in every lawful effort to maintain your rights, both in the Church and in the State; and if any among the clergy shall attempt to strip you of your privileges, I believe that they will quickly shrink from the unhallowed task: that the upright and pure among their brethren—the many who fear God rather than man, who hold catholic unity a thing too sacred to be bartered for gains to the seminary; or to be sacrificed by the Convention as a peace-offering to the mob; the many who magnify their office, and exhibit in their lives the beauties of holiness, will stand forth in defence of their church, and bring to naught the devices of those who would pollute her honor. Nor will the populace, for whose fickle favor this diocese has in former years paid so fearful a price, any longer applaud the faithless watchman whose treachery they may once have praised. The effort to crush you by the strong hand of ecclesiastical power, if made again, will harm you not. Its results need only be feared by the recreant cowards that may attempt it.

In the name of GOD, then, hold fast the freedom wherewith Christ hath made you free. Cling to the Church, and be not driven from her portals by the threats of any who call themselves by her name. Mistake not the angry words of spiritual wickedness in high places, for her calm and heaven-born voice—but with quiet firmness pursue the straight path of duty, never infringing upon the rights of others, never from fear or indolence allowing others to infringe upon your own; and whenever danger threatens, upon your own; and whenever danger threatens, and the heart grows sick, and your resolution pales, gather courage from the sympathy of the thousands both at home and abroad who are watching you with a deep and friendly interest, and stay y

a law is manifest, the couching it in ambiguous language is so far from being a palliation, that it is a high aggravation: for it shows that the legislators were deliberately "framing mischief by a law." Ps. xciv. 20, and decreeing unrighteous decrees. And God says, "Wo to them that decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievousness which they have prescribed, to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless." Isai. x. 1. And now, if God has pronounced such a fearful wo against the framers of wicked laws, how are those to escape this wo, who deliberately swear, in the great name of the Lord their God, that they will support and carry into practice these wicked laws, and thus do actually "turn aside the needy from judgment."

1. I will prove that the Constitution guarantees to the slaveholder the right of holding slaves. 2. That when we become citizens, we bind ourselves to support this wicked institution.

First,—It guarantees to the slaveholder, &c. This position, I intend to prove by the following facts: 1. It is a fact, that slaves were held in this country, under the laws of England, and the British laws and authority were abjured at the Declaration of Independence. And then, the only authority on earth, by which they had been enslaved, ceased to have any authority over them: they were then as free as the king on his throne, in the eyes of *any law*. And it was not until the formation and adoption of the Constitution, that they were *again* by law, converted into goods and chattels. And now, though the laws of England were the authors of colonial slavery, yet it is an undeniable fact, that the Constitution of the United States is the very document by which free and independent America *made* her own slaves, (according to Virginia parlance.) To attempt to prove this, is too much like attempting to prove an axiom. But I hope I will be excused, as it has been denied by the editor, and "eminent jurists." 2. The Constitution guarantees to the slaveholder the right of holding slaves, because it is a fact, that at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, one part of the States was opposed to Slavery, another in favor of it; the first part contending for freedom, until it was found that the South would join the Confederacy on no other condition than that of legalizing Slavery, or admitting them into the Union with their *institution* of Slavery, *and* inserting an article in the Constitution, the caption of which is "*of fugitive slaves?*" The caption, or title of the article, shows beyond all controversy its design, the words "service," and "labor," appeared so very prominent to the editor, that the word "*slaves*," at the *head* of the article, entirely escaped his notice. Hence the editor so interprets the article as to make much of its design to be the recovery of *lawful servants*. And it was not without greatly torturing his sagacity and candor, that he was led to admit that "*one part*" of its design was to restore fugitive slaves; though the design of the article is openly avowed at its head. Now, it is plain that the article does guarantee to the slaveholder the right of recovering fugitive slaves, and, of course, of holding them in slavery. Upon what ground, then, does the Constitution restore the slave to the master? It is on the ground that the slave's labor or service is due to the master, (a most shameful falsehood,) for it says that the fugitive slave "shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be *due*." Again, to what law or Constitution does the Constitution refer, when it speaks of service or labor being "due" to the slaveholder? To this it may be replied, the reference is to the slave States. Ah, but where did the slave States derive their authority to make slave laws? Was it from the Constitution of England, which all the States had abjured? Nay, the reference is manifestly to the authority that the Constitution itself gave them.

3. It guarantees to the slaveholder the above right, because it is a fact, acknowledged even by the editor, that it contains provisions, "one design" of which is, to restore fugitive slaves. Here, then, the Constitution contains a provision, to secure the execution of a law. The provision itself shows plainly the nature of the law. 1. The caption shows that it is a *slave* law. 2. The *provision* itself shows that the law declares the labor or service of the slave to be "due" to the slaveholder. But the great difficulty is, to find where the law itself is.

1. I will show where it is not, and cannot be. It cannot be in any foreign Constitution, for all the citizens of the United States are not only bound to support the Constitution of their own Government, but to abjure all other Constitutions and Governments. Again, we have shown that it cannot refer to any of the State laws, for this article was framed and adopted before any of the States had an existence, as a State of the Confederation, and as States of the Confederation they derived all their legislative authority from the Constitution. Then, the plain state of the case is this, the provision refers to the laws of the slave States, as States of the Union, or, in other words, admits the slave States into the Union with all their slave institutions, and forfeits and guards their slave institutions by this provision of the Constitution. Then, shall as this article is, it is, indeed, the bulwark of American Slavery. Then, inasmuch as the law under consideration is not in the Constitution itself, and cannot be found in any foreign Constitution, it must be found in some of the laws of the Confederation, (the slave laws of the South;) this is beyond all controversy the law or institution that the provision refers us to, and makes constitutional. To deny the constitutionality of Slavery, is to charge the Constitution with containing provisions to enforce unconstitutional laws, which would be absurd. For the Constitution alone can determine what is constitutional. It is true, that the editor is so kind as to "tell Mr. M'Auley that eminent jurists have maintained, and have acted on the principle, that Slavery possesses in the Constitution no guarantee whatever."

I am quite obliged to the editor for his instruction. And now, Mr. Editor, I must inform you that the only valuable information that I received from your kindness, is this. That "eminent jurists" are sometimes found to be guilty of "maintaining principles" in direct opposition to the most plain and undeniable facts; facts openly avowed in civil Constitutions, and confirmed by the uniform practices of Legislatures and Supreme Courts. And that these "eminent jurists," often, by the eminence of their stations, the celebrity of their names, and the stability of their arguments, are unfortunately success-ful in filling the minds of eminent editors with like information. This is the improvement that I have made of your instruction. But perhaps I have misapproved my privileges. The manifest design of the article is to make the slave laws of the South constitutional: this will appear plainly from the above-mentioned facts, and those that are to follow. The above-mentioned facts have reference to the testimony that may be drawn from the Constitution, those that follow are to show the light in which Congress and the Supreme Court have viewed the subject, from the beginning to the present time.

4. It guarantees the right of holding slaves, because it is a fact—1. That the General Government did receive the slave States, with their slave institutions, into the Union, professedly acting constitutionally, according to their understanding of the Constitution, and doubtless its intention was well known to them. 2. It is a fact, that all the Constitutions of the slave States, including their slave institutions, were avowedly framed to harmonize with the Constitution. Congress acted on these Constitutions, and has never yet accused one of the slave States of claiming what the Constitution did not guarantee to them, when they claimed a constitutional right to hold slaves. And the South has always claimed this. 3. It is a fact that Congress always claimed to be acting constitutionally, when admitting slave States into the Union. 4. Congress has not only thus indirectly acknowledged the constitutionality of Slavery, but by direct positive laws,—see law of Congress in the year 1793, August No. of the Repository. 5. The Supreme Court declares this law of Congress "perfectly constitutional." August No. of the Repository, page 100: "The Congress of the United States has already exercised that right in a perfectly constitutional manner, through the law of 1793." Then it is certain that Congress and the Supreme Court has always declared Slavery to be constitutional.

And now, Mr. Editor, these, and similar facts that might be adduced, weigh ten-fold heavier in my mind than all the "books" and authorities of "eminent jurists" the editor can produce. I care not, though the editor, mounted on his "editorial tripod," were surrounded by ten thousand "eminent jurists," and had lying before him a pile of books as long, as broad, and as tall as the Rocky mountains, "the design of which was to maintain the position that Slavery possesses in the Constitution no guarantee whatever;" the infatuation and hallucinations of these "eminent jurists" and "authors" can have no weight [illegible] per version of the Constitution [illegible] design of which is to recover fugitive slaves, and of course to hold them in Slavery by a constitutional tenure; and when this interpretation of this article has been confirmed by the uniform and invariable legislation of Congress, judgment of the Supreme Courts, and action of all our subordinate federal courts, from the beginning to the present time.

Now, Mr. Editor, the deduction that I make from the above mentioned fact, is this:—*That it is a fact, that these wicked, unjust, and unholy slave laws are the laws of our land, that they are their superstructure, and the Constitution their corner-stone;* and I believe this deduction is legitimate,—1. Because the alledged facts are sufficiently numerous. 2. That they are true. 3. That they have a direct bearing on the subject under consideration. 4. The facts themselves make the conclusion unavoidable.

1. After the Declaration of Independence the colonies had no Constitution. 2. They assembled in convention and framed a Constitution. 3. One part of the States was opposed to Slavery, another part would not join the Confederacy unless allowed to hold slaves. 4. The Constitution makes provision to recover fugitive slaves, and of course to hold them by a constitutional tenure, which was all the slave States could ask. 5. The slave States have always, without contradiction from Congress, or the Supreme Court, claimed a constitutional right to hold slaves. 6. Congress has always pronounced it constitutional, by direct laws, by the admission of slave States into the Union, and the rejection of petitions for its abolition in the District of Columbia and Territories. 7. And finally the Supreme Court has pronounced it constitutional. If these facts be sufficiently numerous, true, and to the point, the above deduction is unavoidable.

Now I hope the editor will not think hard, if I try to point out the fallacy of the process of reasoning by which he arrives at the conclusion, "that Slavery possesses in the Constitution no guaranty whatever."

In general, he draws his conclusion without first collecting all the facts that are necessary to enable him to arrive at a legitimate conclusion. But in particular, first, he determines in his own mind what kind of internal testimony the Constitution itself ought to afford, to prove the point under consideration, namely, an article distinctly guarantying to the slaveholder the right of *holding* slaves, and because this article cannot be found, he concludes the affirmative incapable of proof, and inasmuch as it *cannot* be proved, the negative must be true.

Secondly, he overlooks the internal testimony that the Constitution does afford, or, at least, does not give it that weight and importance which it deserves.

Had the article of "fugitive slaves" had no caption or title, declaring its design, it would then have been properly a subject of exegesis; but as it is, it is not. But as the title plainly declares its design, it needs no explanation to show it. And to say the very least, it is a great waste of talents for the editor to attempt to draw other designs out of it, by dint of exegesis. And after admitting that it does guarantee the right of *recovering* fugitive slaves, it is mere trifling to deny that it does guarantee the right of *holding* them, especially when the Constitution restores them on the ground that their labor is *due* to their masters. Certainly the Constitution does not wish us to understand the "delivering" here spoken of to be unconstitutional: certainly it does not mean an unconstitutional "*due*." Both the work of making the labor of the slave "*due*" to the master, and "*delivering*" the fugitive, is the work of the Constitution; hence both are constitutional. Then the internal testimony is sufficient.

3. The editor entirely overlooks all the external testimony, such as the acts of Congress and the Supreme Court. And also, the circumstances under which the Constitution was framed and agreed upon,—that the subject was then warmly debated between the free and slave States; that the very fact that an article is found in the Constitution delivering up the fugitive slave, is evidence that the slave States gained their point.

4. He suffers himself to be carried away by facts that have no bearing on the subject under consideration. Such as his lengthy process of reasoning to prove the unconstitutionality of the legal process by which the slave is to be delivered up. I admit that he proved his point very clearly, but the unconstitutionality of a process can never prove the unconstitutionality of the purpose for which it was instituted. Again, the editor seems to be wonderfully carried away or blinded, by the fact that the slave article will not harmonize with the remaining part of the Constitution. But a moment's consideration might have shown him that these two parts harmonize as well as Slavery and Freedom. He should have considered that there is no analogy at all between Slavery and Freedom, and of course there can be none between slave and free Constitutions. Now the editor's reasoning goes on the principle that there is an analogy between slave and free constitutions or articles. And strange as it may appear, he does actually attempt to reason from one to the other, and of course on the ground that there is or should be some analogy or likeness—August No. page first,—"Nay, we think it might be argued that the idea of such a recognition is precluded by other articles, and especially by the *express design* of the instrument." He seems to think, especially, that there ought to be some analogy between the slave article and the *express design* of the Constitution! In another place, page 100, he asks that the Constitution may be so construed "as to conflict with these express provisions, the express design of the instrument, and the fundamental principles of liberty." What! the slave article not conflict with fundamental principles of liberty? Why not ask for the repealing of the slave article at once? Thus we may see that his arguments are, for the most part, made up of foreign and irrelevant matter.

5. He rests on spurious testimony, I do not say to prove, but rather to prop or bolster up his side of the question; such as that of his eminent jurists, books, &c. But such testimony can never be admissible. Now, if the editor had quoted some good substantial arguments from his eminent jurists, and his book of 440 pages, it might have had some weight on the minds of his readers. In my next I may pay some attention to your reply. Yours, truly,

JOHN M'AULEY.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

THE BLACK LAWS OF MARYLAND.

That is certainly a gloomy and unpleasant looking caption, but perhaps the better therefor. We have, heretofore, repeatedly denounced the barbarous as well as unwise laws of Maryland, with respect to the free people of color, and we shall not hesitate to repeat our denunciations openly and heartily, whenever the subject is forced upon our attention, as it has been by the revolting facts stated below.

In 1839, a law was passed to prohibit free blacks from coming into this State from other States, whether to settle or not, under the penalty of twenty dollars for the first offence. If the offender be unable to pay the fine, he is to be committed to jail and *sold as a slave for life!* The twenty dollars goes to the informer. In case the offender remains five days in the State after his first conviction, or return into it after his departure, he is liable to pay a fine of five hundred dollars, one-half to the informer, and on his *inability* to pay, *to be sold for life.*

After a statement, as above, of the conditions of the odious "black laws" of Maryland, the editor of the *Frederick City Examiner* declares, that he "feels it necessary to assure his readers, that this is the forty-fifth year of the nineteenth century, and that this law exists in America, and not in any of the darkened countries of Europe," and then proceeds to describe the following recent instance of the law's oppression, adding with a show of impulse rare indeed among the timid editors of this latitude, that "it must shock the sensibilities of every right-minded man:"

Last week, under this law, a negro was brought before the Orphans' Court by a late corporation constable, for having come into this State, being a free negro. The statement of the poor old fellow, for he was old and verging to the limit of his years, with little of the strength of manhood left him, was, that he was removing his family from Virginia to Pennsylvania, having been set free for that purpose, and that he was now on his way through Maryland, simply passing through the State with no thought of harm, no knowledge of the ferocious toils of the law which hung around him. He was sentenced to pay the fine, and the informer having consented to remit one-half, Mr. Bromett, one of our new Whig Magistrates, generously and kindly undertook to raise the money, by collections among the citizens of the town, to release the unfortunate old man. He was, of course, successful in his efforts, and had the exquisite enjoyment of winning blessings from a sorrowful heart, and sending the poor gray headed man on his way rejoicing.

We cannot let a corresponding *home* fact in the history of this shameful enactment, pass unnoticed. Although not more than twenty minutes in the interesting meeting of the "African Methodist Episcopal Conference," which we noticed recently, we were there long enough to hear a rule of the church set aside, on the plea of necessity, and a candidate for deacon's orders accepted while *absent*—it having been shown that he was actually prevented from being present at the Conference (which includes Carlisle, Pa. the place of his residence) by fear of the law complained of by our manly brother of the *Examiner*. While his case was under consideration, some member of the Conference cited an instance in which some heartless Police officer of our enlightened "Monumental" city, arrested a Pennsylvania member of the Conference, and caused him to be fined twenty dollars and cost—which fine, of course, went into his own pocket—for the dreadful crime of striving to do his duty as a preacher of that gospel which commands its proclaimers, of whatever nation or hue, to preach it everywhere!

Thus we see Jesus commanded his disciples "go into *all* the world—but our *Christian* legislators have determined they shall *not* come into *Maryland!* No, not even in "the forty-fifth year of the nineteenth century." Do we dream? O, no—we state facts which are as true as they are shameful—facts which ought to be and *shall* be kept before the people, until they determine to send such men to Annapolis, as will see to the repeal of all such odious laws!

From the Glasgow Argus of March 24.

A MAN-STEALING CHURCH.

GLASGOW, March 15, 1845.

To the Rev. Wm. Cunningham, D. D. Edinburgh:

SIR:—"To steal a MAN is the highest kind of theft." "Stealers of men are ALL those who bring off slaves or freemen, and who KEEP, BUY, or SELL them." This language was a part of the Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in America from 1794 to 1816. Thus that church declared all slaveholders, no matter how they came into possession of slaves, to be THIEVES of the worst kind—"*sinners of the first rank.*"

A communication over your signature appeared in the *Witness*, of February 12, 1845, in which you say—

"There is nothing in the actual relation held by the evangelical churches of America to the Slavery existing and established there, or the conduct adopted by them regarding it, which affords any sufficient reason for refusing to hold communion with them as Churches of Christ." Of this proposition and two others, you say—"I do not shrink from defending them; and I hope to have an opportunity of doing so, before the matter is finally disposed of by the General Assembly."

By "EVANGELICAL churches," you mean the Presbyterian Church, among others, of that country. What is the relation of that church to Slavery? You have been in America a *few weeks*, and you profess to know what that relation is, even better than those who were born and educated in the bosom of that church, and who are now living members, elders, and ministers in it. This I infer from the above cited letter in the Witness, and also from your speech before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, March 13, 1845, as reported. The following is the "actual relation of the *Presbyterian* Church of America to the Slavery existing and established there"—slaveholders being witnesses:—

In 1816, the General Assembly (the supreme judiciary of that church,) in the name and in behalf of the whole church, struck out from their discipline the above faithful testimony against man-stealers. Why? Strange as it may seem, these THIEVES "of the highest kind" were so increased in number and influence in the church as to be able to compel the Assembly to do it. The question arises—How could that church dare to admit those to her fellowship whom she had officially declared to be guilty of the highest kind of theft? I state the fact, but will not stop to account for it.

In 1835, it was declared in the General Assembly by one of its members—no man contradicting it—that in the Presbyterian Church, "a man may take a freeborn child and sell it as a beast, and be esteemed an excellent Christian; and that ELDERS, MINISTERS, and DOCTORS of DIVINITY, are with both hands engaged in the practice."

In 1836, the General Assembly chose one of these worst of thieves to be their Moderator; and forty-eight members of that Assembly were guilty of the same wickedness. These met *apart*, and resolved that, if the Assembly "declare Slavery an immorality, or that CHRISTIANS ARE CRIMINAL IN HOLDING SLAVES, they will not submit to the decision."

Again, in 1838, the Assembly chose a thief, a *man-stealer*, for Moderator—Rev. William S. Plummer, D. D. Every year, that body is composed, in part, of these "sinners of the first rank."

Not long ago, the Rev. James Smylie, a Presbyterian minister of Mississippi, in a book published in vindication of Slavery, says: "*If the buying, selling, or holding* slaves, FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, be a sin, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Methodists Baptists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, in eleven States of this Union, are of the Devil, for they do hold slaves." There is not probably one Presbyterian church in *thirteen* States of that Union that is not composed, in part or wholly, of slaveholders.

In 1820, the United States, as a nation, declared the traffic in human beings, on the coast of Africa, and on the high seas, to be PIRACY, punishable with death. But the same traffic is carried on all over the thirteen slave States, by members, elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, in the Presbyterian Church, i. e. they buy and sell the bodies and souls of men as suits their convenience. Is it any the less piracy to trade in slaves in Virginia or Louisiana, than in Africa or on the sea? In the sight of a just and holy God, the act is the same wherever committed. Justice is not bound by latitude or longitude;—Christianity knows no geographical morality. If the Presbyterian ministers and members were to do in Africa what they do in America, they would be hunted and hung as pirates! You may say they are licensed by Government to buy and sell men in America. Will that license clear them in the court of Heaven?

There are about 80,000 slaves in the Methodist Church in America, as members; about 50,000 in the Baptist Church; and about 30,000 in the Presbyterian. These slaves, members of these churches, live in concubinage. There is no legal marriage among slaves. When a slave is sold from one woman, with whom he has lived as a husband, he is expected by his new master to take another woman; and if his master bids him do it, and he disobeys, even though he think it would be adultery, he is subjected to church censure. Polygamy and concubinage are tolerated in the Presbyterian churches all over the slave States.

Do you know why slaveholders show such anxiety to have their slaves become members of churches? Often SOLELY TO ENHANCE THEIR PRICE IN THE MARKET. A *Christian* slave, as those who are in the churches are called, always command a higher price; and the fact that a man or woman is a praying Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Baptist, is often mentioned by the auctioneer to enhance the value. Thus, the Presbyterians of the Southern States pray and labor for the conversion of their slaves that they may bring more money in the market!! In advertisements of slaves for sale, I have seen it stated that they were good Christian members of Presbyterian churches, to obtain a higher price for them.

Such is the "*actual relation held by the Presbyterian Church of America, to the Slavery existing and established there.*" Nearly one-half of its local churches are composed wholly, or in part, of "stealers of men." Nearly all its elders and ministers in one-half of the States, "*keep, sell, or buy slaves.*" It is full of the "highest kind of theft," of polygamy, and concubinage. It is a great Sodom of pollution. It is one of the most powerful means of reducing three millions of immortal beings—children of our Father, our brothers and sisters, for whom our Divine Redeemer shed his precious blood—to the condition of brutes and things. This church, thus constituted, and thus polluted with every crime, you do "not shrink from defending" as an Evangelical Church!—as the body of Christ!! What must be your estimate of Christ and of Christianity? Would you thus defend a society of "stealers of sheep," as an Evangelical Church, and urge the Free Church to fellowship with them as a Church of Christ?

Suppose there is a tribe of one hundred families on the shore of Loch Lomond. They have lived as a distinct people, and had their own laws and customs for two hundred years. They live by STEALING SHEEP. They claim it as their right to steal the sheep of the Scotch farmers wherever they can find them; and they pass laws to legalize and regulate this business. Their families are formed into a Presbyterian Church—adopt the creed and discipline of the Free Church, and have their elders and ministers, who also are sheep-stealers. They build their chapels, buy their Bibles, psalm-books, and communion service, and pay their ministers, by stealing sheep. They devoutly keep the Sabbath, go to meeting, observe the ordinances of baptism and supper, and they read the Bible and pray in their families, and then go from praying and preaching to STEALING SHEEP!

Would you not shrink from defending that as an *Evangelical* Church? You would. Yet, what is their guilt compared to that of those "stealers of men," in America, whom you "shrink not from defending?" What is the difference, in guilt, between a sheep-stealing and a man-stealing church and minister? Just the difference between the value of a *sheep* and a MAN. Oh! Sir, look to Calvary; look to the final judgment; look to the eternal future; and estimate the difference!

Exactly in the position of that supposed sheep-stealing church are all those churches in America that are composed wholly, or in part, of slaveholders, with this difference only: *that* robs sheep-pens—*these* rob nurseries and cradles of their priceless contents; and you, every member and minister of the Free Church, would consign the robber of a sheep-fold to the felon's dungeon; and will you elevate the robbers of nurseries and cradles in America, to the dignity and glory of "*Evangelical* Churches of Christ?" Again, I ask, what must you think of Christ, if, in your opinion, "stealers of men" may be members of His Body? You arraign the sheep-stealer before a criminal court, try and condemn him as a felon unfit to live in society; but you admit the man-stealer to appear before your Presbytery, and you consecrate, license, and ordain him as an Evangelical minister! Or, you do what is the same thing, you do not shrink from defending as Evangelical ministers, those who are thus ordained. You brand the sheep-stealer with shame and infamy, but adorn the man-stealer with the title of Reverend! You practically say to men, "steal a sheep, and you *must* be a villain, but steal a MAN and you *may* be a Doctor of Divinity." By defending a body of slaveholders as an "Evangelical Church," you encourage men to think it possible to be an *Evangelical* thief! A praying, ordained, reverend robber!

But suppose the Free Church General Assembly, knowing the character of that church and minister on the shore of Loch Lomond, should receive them into fellowship as a *sister* church, and should invite the sheep-stealer to preach and pray before them, to sit in council with them, and to act as their moderator—and suppose the Free Church should sanction this conduct in their assembly, and should persevere in thus fellowshipping that society of sheep-stealers as an "evangelical church," and should apply to them for money to build their chapels and pay their ministers—would you call the Free Church a Church of Christ? Would you say that a church composed of sheep-stealers, held no such relation to sheep-stealing as to afford sufficient reason for refusing to hold communion with them as a Church of Christ? Yet you would convince us that the "Evangelical Churches of America," composed of man-stealers, hold no such relation to man-stealing as to afford sufficient reason for refusing to regard *theirs* as churches of Christ!

Gladly would I see the Free Church an instrument of good to mankind: but if such be her religion and her code of morals—if she consigns the sheep-stealer to a dungeon as a felon, and hugs the man-stealer to her bosom as an "*Evangelical* Christian," she will assuredly become the scorn and contempt of the world. And you, Sir, in thus coming forward as the defender of the man-stealing churches of America, will assuredly cover yourself and your cause with shame and infamy. For the Almighty God is against you; humanity is against you; the anguish of mothers whose children are torn from their bosoms—the tears, the groans, the blood, the unutterable horrors of three millions of *dehumanized* slaves—are against you. As you preach or pray in churches built by money known to be the price of the bodies and souls of men—the very stones and the pulpit will cry out against you, saying, "Wo, wo to those who build their house by robbery and blood." The blood and tears of the slaves will drip down from the walls as a testimony against you; and the agonizing groans of three millions of crushed and broken hearts will come up from under the blood-stained altar, rend the heavens, and enter into the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth. Will you not shrink from defending those combinations of man-stealers as churches of Christ, when you meet the crushed, imbruted victims of their power, before the tribunal of your God? As a man and brother—as a professed follower and minister of Him who died to redeem us all, and who came to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free—as one who has long labored, amid popular violence and commotion, for three millions of slaves, in a professedly free and Christian nation,—I pray you and the Free Church not to lose this golden opportunity of testifying your abhorrence of American Slavery. *Send back the money*—the price of blood—to the slaveholders from whom it came, and thus carry conviction to their conscience, comfort the hearts of the enslaved, call down upon you the blessings of millions ready to perish, and earn for yourselves the praise of all good men, and the smiles of God. In the name of God and humanity, *send back the money*—the price of blood—cease to fellowship slaveholders as churches of Christ,—and you will do more for the downfall of American Slavery than all that the commercial and political regulations of the world ever did or can do.

You speak of the "misrepresentations of Abolitionists," in your letter to the Witness, of February 12; and again, in your speech before the Presbytery, March 13th, as reported, you say of Abolitionists:—"*It is preposterous to talk to such men,* OR TO SUPPOSE THEM IMBUED WITH SANITY OR SENSE." Why? Simply because we denounce all who "hold, buy, or sell slaves," as thieves and robbers, and refuse to fellowship those "sinners of the first rank" as "*Evangelical* churches" and ministers. What do you call the poor man who steals your bread or your coat, to keep him from starving or freezing? A *thief*, unhesitatingly! Yet, because we denounce and disfellowship those who steal the wives, and husbands, and *freeborn* children of their neighbors, as thieves, you say, "it is preposterous to suppose that we are imbued with sanity or sense!" It is, indeed, "preposterous to talk *about*, or *to* such men," for if it be sanity and sense to call "stealers of men" Christians, and combinations of men, guilty of "the highest kind of theft," "*Evangelical* churches," then truly are Abolitionists wanting in these desirable attributes. But whether the men and women in America who have forsaken father and mother, wife and children, houses and lands, friends, reputation, and life itself, to administer to Christ in the person of his suffering, *dehumanized* little ones, are deserving your cruel taunts, your scorn and contempt, I am willing to leave to the decision of the God of the oppressed. Only SEND BACK THAT MONEY—THE PRICE OF BLOOD, and "cease" to "join" hands with men guilty of "the highest kind of theft," and they will forgive your taunts; and if you do not, still they forgive you, and pray to God to forgive you, for "you know not what you do."

HENRY C. WRIGHT,
of Philadelphia, United States.

From the London Times.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

My Friends,—I had lately occasion to write to you on the subject of Slavery, and I now feel a desire, (taking so deep an interest as I do in your political welfare,) to write to you again on another not less important subject,—I mean the Annexation of Texas to your republic—a measure which will not only extend, but perpetuate the sufferings of the negro race. Perhaps you will immediately reply, "What necessity for this, when both our Legislatures have already passed a bill for this great measure, and when it has been signed by the President, and when, therefore, it can neither be altered nor undone?" I know all this; but I deny that it is yet a perfect bill, for it wants the acceptance of the Texan Government and people. There may be a considerable interval of time before all the necessary arrangements for that object can be completed. This interval may be of great importance to you who hate this measure, as you may use it much to your advantage.

But how do you know, in the first place, that the Texans will accept your offer? There is a very strong party in Texas who prefer a connection with England rather than with America. Texas may not so easily come into the American Union as you may imagine. Will there then be no difficulties in the way besides?—no disputes which it will take time to settle, before the object can be accomplished? I have heard of one case already which will occasion discussion. Some people in America think that the Union will not be safe if it be based only on the resolutions of both houses of the Legislature and the signature of the President. Others think that it will be secure only by a treaty. But will there be no other subjects for dispute where the interests of so many thousands are concerned? It will take time on the part of the Texans, also, to determine how many new States are to be created, what are to be their boundaries, of which maps are to be made,—and which of them, after many consultations of the inhabitants of Texas, are to be slave States, and which of them are to be free. In fact, there will be plenty of work besides, to be done by the Texans themselves, before Annexation can take place. Again, are you sure that the Indians in the neighborhood of the Texan provinces, who know, to their cost, the Americans under no other character than that of money-making robbers of land, will not put a spoke in the wheel of such a union, and appeal to arms, rather than have such enemies of mankind in their neighborhood? Again, are you sure that Mexico will be a quiet spectator, and see her former province wrestid from her, and not proclaim war either against Texas or the United States? If she proclaims war against Texas, with what face can the American States justify themselves in the eyes of the civilized world for the part they have taken in drawing off Texas from Mexico? Again, are you sure that the powers of Europe will not, somehow or other, be dragged into the contest, and particularly when they see that the effect of victory on one side will only be aggrandizement, without any other result than to entail unparalleled miseries forever upon a vast portion of the unoffending human race? Again, and lastly, will you, my friends of the Northern States, take no part yourselves against Annexation,—give your neighbors of the South no trouble, but let them have their own way without a constitutional resistance to the measure? No; I believe you will rise as one man against it. You have been too long in chains to the South ever to wear them again, if an opportunity should ever occur of getting rid of them. Such an opportunity for asserting your own liberty appears to me to be at hand; and, as there may be, (as I have just shown,) in carrying the measure, many obstacles in the way, many contingencies to rise up, all of which it will take time to meet, a sufficient interval of time will be given you, before the final settlement of the contemplated change, in which to make successful efforts to extricate yourselves from your present bondage.

That the Northern States have been in bondage to the unprincipled slaveholding people of the South, is a notorious fact. They have been robbed of their rights by the latter. They cannot make laws for the whole American community, as the South do; but must submit to the laws which the people of the South may choose to impose upon them, however cruel, however unjust, however revolting to their consciences. They have not a fair representation in Congress. This every American knows; and of this every American of the North bitterly complains. But how did this hateful—this abominable distinction as to privilege, arise? I will not tell you myself, lest I should be thought partial; I had rather it should come from some person of authority, such, for instance, as from Judge Shroud, an American Judge. In one of his books, published in Philadelphia, in 1827, entitled, *A Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several States of the United States*, we find the following passage:—"The equal representation of the States in the Senate, it will not be pretended, confers undue power upon the large non-slaveholding States. On the contrary, this is known to be the result of a compromise, in which the interest of the small States only was consulted." Again, page 155, he says: "Politically speaking, a majority of the States would have been benefited had the same caution been observed with respect to the Constitution which had been pursued in reference to the Declaration of Independence and the articles of Confederation. The appointment of representatives among the several States was, however, a subject of such prominence as to claim the earliest attention of the Convention. In an evil hour, the important advantage was conceded to the slaveholding States, of including within the enumeration of inhabitants, by which the ratio of representation was to be ascertained, three-fifths of those who were held in Slavery. For the surrender of right involved in this anomalous arrangement, the large non-slaveholding States, such as New-York and Pennsylvania, obtained not even a nominal equivalent." The unfair representation, then, unfair indeed to two such noble States as New-York and Pennsylvania, (both situated in the North,) arose, it appears, originally from a compromise, and not in the common, ordinary way of doing business at conventions; but, as the Judge does not say much to us of the nature of this compromise, or how it was carried on, or of the names of the persons concerned in it, and as he mentions it with disapprobation, and as a hard, unjust transaction, calling it an evil hour in which it was brought forth, we may conclude that some, and not a little intrigue was practised on the occasion, and that the superiority of the South over the North in point of representation, was obtained only by base means of kindred alliance with the character of Slavery. I never yet saw an American from the North who did not speak of this compromise in the most angry and bitter terms, and as a source at times of considerable uneasiness, vexation, and even suffering. At this very hour, a master has a vote for every three slaves out of five, and this was a part of the compromise.

But is it really true that this compromise has been attended with such vexatious effects? I repeat, that it is true. I assert, that the good people of the North cannot even now mention it but with indignation, for they may be said to feel it daily. Some one circumstance or another is frequently rising up which puts them in mind of their degradation. In the first place, every sacrifice is made by Congress to uphold the slaveholding interests of the South in preference to any other interest. If the people of the North have a point to carry, however beneficial to the country at large, yet, if it meddles in the least with Slavery, they are sure to be out-voted; and if the people or planters of the South have in their turn a point to carry, however cruel and unjust, or however contrary it may be to their consciences, and even to the laws of God, it is sure to pass into a law. But this superiority of the South over the North, as it relates to the number of votes, is often very vexatious and harassing to the subject in bills or acts of Congress, where personal liberty is concerned. A few years ago conversation in America was directed more than usually to the wickedness of Slavery, so that it could not escape observation as a common topic. Upon this the planters were alarmed; and it was resolved that this evil talking was so vitally detrimental to the interests of the South that it should be immediately stopped; but how was this to be accomplished? And now I have to record an instance of audacity in the American Congress not paralleled in the representative history of the world. Congress resolved that the inhabitants of the whole of the United States should be tongue-tied. What! did they forget their duty as representatives of a land of which they boasted as the most free in the whole world? Did they not at once think that they were invading, by such a measure, the liberties of the people? No; no such thought ever once came over their minds. Whatever the outrage might be, a sacrifice must be made for the good of the South. The consequence was, that they passed what were called the gagging bills. The people were denied the liberty of speech as to any censure upon Slavery, and the postmasters in all the towns of the different States were enabled and commanded to open all suspected letters and parcels, and to make their contents known. Any breach of this law was accompanied with penalties. In short, everything was done, both as far as speaking and writing were concerned, that not a murmur against Slavery might transpire, and that Slavery might go on uninterruptedly, and with all its miseries and horrors, without a censure or reproach. This act of Congress was only worthy of the Sultan at Constantinople, or of the Emperor at Morocco, the lives of whose subjects, such is their degradation, are entirely at their command. What would have been said by the Americans if the Parliament of England had done such a thing? I know what the people of England would have done on such an occasion. They would have raised their voices as one man against it. Indeed, I cannot anticipate what would have been the consequences. An instance occurred only a few months ago of a member of the English Cabinet, high in office, opening a letter to a foreigner in London. This happened to be discovered. Both houses of Parliament rang almost immediately with disapprobation of the deed. Week after week the subject was resumed in the House of Commons, as if no mercy was to be shown to the delinquent. All the London papers as well as the provincial, joined in the outcry, and the whole population was in a ferment. I trust that this expression of almost universal indignation will operate as a warning to those, however high in office, who may think of making an attempt of the same sort again. And here let it be noted, that all this ferment was occasioned by the opening of the letters of a foreigner; whereas Congress gave an unlimited power to the postmasters to open all suspected letters and parcels, (which might amount to some thousands in the year,) and tongue-tied all the population besides. The ferment, though it continued for many months, has but just now subsided.

Let me mention another instance where the people of the Northern States had reason to be dissatisfied with the people of the South, and where they could not help themselves. Congress, at the instigation of the planters, made war upon certain of the Indians, whole tribes of whom were exterminated during the contest, merely upon the plea that their lands were too near to the American plantations of the South, and that these plantations might be disturbed at some time or other, and, at any rate, that they might afford a hiding-place, or a place of refuge, for fugitive slaves. A great majority of the people of the North, as religious men, deprecated this war. It was founded on a mere supposition of injury. They contended that this proximity of the two lands was not the fault of the Indians. Congress had sold land to those who would buy it. They who bought it were anxious to settle it as soon as they could. Thus one plantation after another rose up, and this so rapidly, that in a few years the new plantations of the settlers came near to the Indian frontier. The Indians, therefore, were not to be blamed for this, for they did not advance upon the settlers, but stayed at home, and the settlers advanced upon them. They contended, again, that as the war was not undertaken on their account, but wholly on account of the slaveholders of the South, they ought not to share in the burden of the expenses of it. Now, what was the answer which the Southern members in Congress gave to those remonstrances? An answer worthy of slaveholders,—"that a civilized people, inhabiting any country, had a right to dispossess barbarians of their land, if residing on it, or in the neighborhood, because such people did no good to themselves or others." I should like to know which were the barbarians, the Congress or the Indians? We see in these two instances, as I have observed before, without mentioning others, that everything was to be sacrificed to the slaveholding interests, and that the compromise before-mentioned, obtained originally in an evil hour, rendered the people of the North helpless as to any opposition to the South, however unjust the measures of the latter might be. Is it not a galling matter, a matter of constant irritation to the former, living under the same Government, and as good subjects as the latter, to feel that they are to obey laws which their consciences disapprove, and to feel, moreover, that they have no hope of an ameliorated system?—for Slavery has been so firmly riveted and ramified into the custom of the State by the machinations of the Legislature, first suggested by the planters, that nothing but the abolition of Slavery itself can give any hope of reformation. No man is chosen to take office under the Government, (and how many hundred public offices are there in the United States,) who does not pledge himself by an oath that he will take up and secure every fugitive slave he may meet with, that he may be returned to his master, even though such a return is prohibited by the law of God. The consequence of such a law has been, that some of the best magistrates in the land give up, every year, their offices, not being able to reconcile this injunction to their consciences and the laws of God. Thus, everything is done by a slaveholding Government to uphold Slavery. If a door is left open to public emolument, a man is thrust in who is made to change his views with respect to Slavery, and to swell the suffrages of the Southern freeholders.

But will the good people of the North consent to live under the chains of the South forever? Will they consent to have no will of their own in legislation? Will they be any longer the degraded jailers of the South for all their fugitive slaves? Will they be pleased with any more gagging bills? If they will submit to all this, then they must be content with their present

custom had been to invite all to participate with it, whether Abolitionists or not. It was replied that the Society, at its last meeting, adopted resolutions, approving of the Liberty party, and that that made it a Liberty Party Society. It did not seem to occur to the members present—or if it did, it gave them no anxiety—that this novel mode of amending a Constitution, might be a dangerous precedent. Another friend,—whose name I have forgotten—also protested against being cut off in this summary way, from a Society to which he had belonged for years. I also said, though not a member of the Society, that I hoped the motion would be distinctly worded, that those who are not members of the Third party, but who claimed to be Abolitionists, might clearly understand whether the right of free speech was to be denied them. Mr. Stewart spoke on the other side at considerable length. It was not, he said, worth while to waste the time of the meeting in discussing "*elementary questions*"—these being, be it understood, the character of the Constitution of the United States, and the position of the American Church! At the same time in advocating a motion which was to cut off all reply, he had the magnanimity to set forth at some length the argument in favor of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, to animadvert upon some of the positions taken by the speakers at our late Annual Meeting, and to indulge in the usual slang of calling the American Society a no-church, no-government, non-resistant Society. He defended the Church, and defended the Constitution, and said that the time was come when a position must be taken, by which it should be clearly understood, that these "elementary questions" were no longer open to discussion. All this came from him with a peculiarly good grace, when it was remembered that he had gone so far back into the *elements*, before the meeting commenced, in an hour's talk, in giving to those present the fruits of his researches in Blackstone, the Classical Dictionary, and Worcester's Geography,—namely, the fact that the yeomanry of Great Britain were once held as slaves,—the difference between *villeins regardant, and villeins in gross*—the fact that the Romans had an island in the Tiber, where they put their old and sick slaves to die, and that "one of these old patricians" fed his fish-pond with a slave every morning—and the fact that there were serfs still in Russia and Poland! Not being convinced, however, that the "elementary questions" of the Church and the State were altogether settled, I answered him in a few words, begging those present to observe that one side had already been discussed and protesting as an Abolitionist, against the infliction of so stringent a gag-law in a professedly Anti-Slavery meeting. The motion, however, was finally carried, though not without some qualms of conscience on the part of two or three, who, though not men enough to assert the right of free speech—with the exception of an agent of the Society, and those already referred to—and to resist the dictation of petty partisanship, were nevertheless fearful of losing such valuable men as Mr. Conger, and the member who agreed with him.

So much for the spirit of Liberty party in New Jersey. It is twin brother to the overseerism of Southern slaveholders, if it be not a libel on legitimate overseerism to call it so. It is characteristic of Liberty party in all the Atlantic States, and is infinitely more to be dreaded than the most open and violent pro-slavery which we have anywhere to encounter.

It is proper to say that I have not pretended to give the precise words of the speakers, except those quoted, nor even a sketch of the debate, which lasted nearly, if not quite an hour. I have merely attempted to state the positions taken by the advocates of the motion, and to give the final result. Some of the arguments—if they can be called such—were too puerile to be worth recording, and in fact there was much about the proceedings as ridiculous, as the whole was contemptible. What was the course of the Society in the afternoon, I do not know, as I, of course, returned to town when I found there was to be no Anti-Slavery meeting.—G.

P. S. The above article was in type for last week's paper, but was crowded out by the Foreign Intelligence. I have since heard that the Society continued in session during the afternoon and evening, and that the evening session was occupied by Alvan Stewart in an attempt to show *that the Constitution of the United States is an Anti-Slavery instrument!*

I am not, however, at all surprised at this. Liberty Party is exceedingly anxious that this question should be discussed, and that the people should be convinced of the *anti-slavery* character of the Constitution. What they fear is, that the question shall be fairly discussed. They are determined this shall not be, if such contemptible trickery as this of Alvan Stewart's can prevent it.

The Spirit of Liberty.

The editor of the paper with this title, published at Pittsburg, in copying the article entitled, "Prejudice and Presbyterianism," from the Standard, of May 1st, says, in a note:

We regret that the editor of the Standard exhibits such bitterness toward "Third party." *He* knows that "Third party," in the West, at least, reprobates *all* colorphobic Christianity.

I am, and always have been, ready to do justice to the character of the third party in the West, as the editor of the Spirit must know if he has read the Standard attentively. This particular question of colorphobia is rather an unfortunate one to adduce, however, in favor of their anti-slavery honesty. Thomas Morris, who was a Western man, and whose principles were, or ought to have been, known there, was very far from advocating all the rights of the colored man. I do not know that he would have had them turned into a gallery of the church, as they do at the Rev. Mr. Hatfield's, but he was not ready to admit them to the ballot-box. The Western people should not boast much on this point, until their practice is more in accordance with their preaching.

If the Standard is bitter towards the third party, some excuse may be found for it in such facts as are recorded in another column of to-day's paper. But I deny the charge of "bitterness." We are not bitter, but only just. Long experience has taught the Abolitionists in this section of country, that a thing may have a very good name and be a very bad thing notwithstanding. I see no more reason why the Liberty party should be exempt from examination, and if necessary, from being exposed, because it has a good name, than that the Democratic party should be permitted to go unchallenged for the same reason. If a party professes to be anti-slavery, and is not, so much the more reason for unmasking it. I would not quarrel with the Spirit for attempting to show that the American Society is pro-slavery, but will rather thank him for doing so, if he makes his charge good. But so long as I think it right, and the Liberty party in the wrong, I shall work with the first, and oppose the last. And more especially so, when I believe the last, here, to be wrong in principle, wrong in practice, and through the conduct of its chief influences, subverting the very end for which it professes to be laboring.

I hope the party in the West will continue to deserve the favorable construction which has been put upon its course, when contrasted with that of its coadjutors here. In another part of this paper is an article, copied from the Spirit of Liberty, on a subject which has never been thought worthy of discussion till recently, so universal has been the opinion that but one view could be taken of it. When we remember that the historical evidence is as complete and irrefragable as that the United States were once provinces of Great Britain, that the framers of the Constitution meant that that instrument should be pro-slavery, and that that belief has universally obtained among their descendants, till within three years, at least so much authority should be given to precedent as not to consider the question settled the other way without a thorough discussion. The ground of a nation's belief for sixty years of the character of their own Constitution, framed within the memory of men still living, is surely worth an examination. But the Spirit of Liberty objected to the publication of the article in question because it would provoke a reply, and gives warning that the discussion cannot be prolonged in its columns beyond a single reply in addition to the one which it has already given, and what it proposes still to give. Call you this the *Spirit of Liberty*, friend? Is the question so unimportant an one, or are you afraid of the truth? That you do not deem it a trifling matter, is very evident from your own article, the reply which you promise, and your intention to return to the subject. It is not so evident that you are seeking the truth when a single offset is given to all this, and all further discussion on that side is cut off. If this is the spirit of Western third party, I will take back in sorrow all that I have ever said in its favor. It is the very spirit which refused the right of speech to Frederic Douglas and C. L. Remond, in New Bedford, last winter, and which denied it to me in Newark a fortnight since. To come nearer home, it is the very spirit which *gagged* the agents of the American Society, in Pittsburg, a year and a half ago, because it was found that some things might be said which third party would not like to hear. Towards this spirit of Slavery, wherever displayed, whether East or West, you may always reckon on finding the American Society and its organ as "bitter" as truth always is towards error,—as "bitter" as the true spirit of Liberty always must be towards the spirit of Slavery.

I do not so much wonder, however, at the position which the Liberty party people seem inclined to maintain in relation to this question of the character of the Constitution. They are afraid to meet it. Expediency is their rule, and not Right. They are not so much concerned as to what is their duty as they are to increase the number of their votes. I do not impute this to them as Liberty party men, but as politicians. A political party is nothing without numbers. They must bend their efforts to this end from the very nature of the case, for their power does not lie in principle. They feel sure, then, that discussion on this subject will not do for them. The argument on our side is too strong, and presses conviction home to the conscience and the understanding of the honest, clear-sighted Abolitionist, and this is just so much dead loss to Liberty party. It tells upon them as it does not upon the other parties. A Whig or a Democrat will reply to us,—we do not pretend to be Abolitionists, and may, therefore, consistently support the Constitution. But a Liberty man, who acknowledges the Constitution to be pro-slavery, at the same time confesses his own hypocrisy and perjury. No wonder they hate free speech, for it would be the death of them.—G.

The Disunionists.

I have no particular wish of entering the lists against the True Wesleyan on a new issue, at least till the one now between us is fairly settled. As he has thrown down the gauntlet, however, I will pick it up, and nail it to the wall whence he may claim it again if he pleases. The last number of that paper contains the following paragraph:

DIVISION OF THE UNION.—There are a class of ultra Non-Resistants, who are loud in their cries for a division of the Union. They are the last men who should whisper the first word calculated to promote or hasten such a result. No man of common sense can suppose that the Union can be dissolved without a bloody war. We are for peace, and will submit to war only when we cannot prevent it. They have already divided it by proclamation, as General Hull took Canada; but when he heard the war bugle, he spiked his cannon, and we think their proclamations will be found to do as little execution as spiked guns on the day of battle. When the Union shall be divided, if it shall take place while anything like the present state of things exist, many must rush with a sacrifice of life into the breach, and the chasm will become a trench of blood. How then dare men, calling themselves Non-Resistants, who condemn all violence, and abhor all shedding of blood, call for a division of the Union.

My truthful neighbor would seem to mean by this that nobody asks for a Dissolution of the Union but Non-Resistants. He knows this is not true. If, however, they were all Non-Resistants, I know no reason in the ethics and religion which I have learnt, why they should not "dare" to call for a division of the Union which they believe is cemented with blood. I have yet to learn that men may not call upon their fellows to cease to do wrong now, because in some possible contingency, certain other evils may follow as a collateral consequence. The argument of the Wesleyan is precisely that which the advocates of Slavery have always used against immediate Abolition. What does the Wesleyan answer, when men tell him civil war and bloodshed, and anarchy, and all manner of wrong will follow the immediate emancipation of the slaves? Does he hold this possibility—supposing it to be one—a reason why he should not be an Abolitionist? Or does he say,—it is our duty to do right, and leave the consequences with God? If a Non-Resistant believes the Union to be wrong, it is his duty to demand its overthrow, and he is not responsible for the consequences—consequences, by-the-bye, not of his doing right, but of others' previous wrong-doing. Does the Wesleyan accept this philosophy? We have seen something of the Christianity of his church;—is the opposite doctrine to this just stated its morality?

But the Disunionists are not all, or chiefly Non-Resistants, and the Wesleyan knows this full well. Many of them look far beyond a simply destructive policy. Their position is now negative by the force of circumstances. It by no means follows because they demand a Dissolution now, because that is the first and a necessary step, that they will not, when the time shall come, demand also creation. But whether they are Non-Resistants or not,—and I apprehend that that is their own concern, and nobody's else—they are neither striving for, nor calculating upon bloodshed. They would save bloodshed, by taking away the nourishment on which tyranny fattens, and thus destroy it, and at any rate, would relieve themselves from the guilt of being tyrants. What "common sense" they are blessed withal, prompts them to the destruction of Slavery, by striking at its chief support. If, however, the Wesleyan is desirous of trying conclusions on the "common sense" of the matter, I commend him to those eminent Non-Resistants, Judge Wm. Jay, and Orange Scott.

The Georgia Baptist Convention.

This Convention, now in session in Augusta, Ga. unanimously adopted the following Report by Dr. Fuller. The Missionary Board is now thoroughly divided, and the work must next be begun in the church. Will it follow the example of its Methodist sister, and wait to be cut off by the sinners, or have grace given it to be in some sort Christian without compulsion?

"The committee to whom it has been referred to report a preamble and resolutions, cannot but express their profound sense of the responsibility resting upon your body at the present eventful crisis, as the integrity of the nation, the interests of truth, the sacred enterprise of converting the heathen, are all involved in your deliberations. That this Convention was imperiously demanded, must be apparent to all. The Boston Board have, in their answer to the Alabama resolutions, most clearly and unnecessarily exceeded their power, and violated their trust. It is a question admitting no debate, that the Triennial Convention was formed on the principle of perfect equality of members from the South and North.

"And, what is all-important, the very qualifications of missionaries are prescribed by the original Constitution of that Convention—the fifth article providing that '*such persons as are in full communion with some regular church of our denomination, and who furnish satisfactory evidence of genuine piety, good talents, and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause, are to be employed as missionaries.*'

"Besides, this, too, the declaration of the Board, that 'if any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and should insist on retaining them as his property, we could not appoint him,' is an innovation and a departure from the course hitherto pursued by the Triennial Convention, such persons having been appointed; and, lastly, the decision of the Board is an infraction of the resolution passed the last Spring, in Philadelphia, and the General Board, at their late meeting in Providence, has failed to reverse the decision."

In the debate on the Report, the Rev. Mr. Jeter read the following extract from a letter from Dr. Wayland:

"You will separate, of course. I could not ask otherwise. Your rights have been infringed. I will take the liberty of offering one or two suggestions. We have shown how Christians *ought not* to act; it remains for you to show us how they *ought* to act. Put away all violence, act with dignity and firmness, and the world will approve your course."

The Constitution of the new Society is adopted, and the body is to be termed the "Southern Baptist Convention, for the propagation of the Bible." They had better begin by propagating it through the Society. The body is to meet once in three years, and the first meeting is to be held in Nashville, Tenn. in May, 1846. There are to be two Boards, a Foreign and Domestic.

Christian Fellowship.

If the Church were as ready to acknowledge slaves as Christians as they are slaveholders, it would be in some cases, something to plead in mitigation of their unchristian conduct. But with all their cant of loving the slave, let one be placed among them, and he receives the same treatment that is accorded to his free colored brother of the North. A fugitive who wishes to raise funds to buy the bones and sinews which God gave to him, but of which his master robbed him, can pick up a few dollars among the children of this world and of Mammon, in Wall and Pine streets, but will apply in vain for aid to the ministers of the Gospel, and knock without being heeded at the doors of the churches. A single instance which has occured within a week may be given as proof.

A *Clergyman in the Methodist Episcopal Church* called upon me a few days since. He had in his possession letters and papers which proved unquestionably that he was what he purported to be. It is his misfortune, and not his fault, that he has but little education, and it is to his credit, that the little he has got, he has picked up in spite of adverse circumstances. Nature, however, has endowed him with a good share of intellect, and his bearing in conversation and personal appearance is such as his brethren in the church—who care more for the outward seeming of the man, than the soul within—need not be ashamed of. Though a licensed preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, *he is a slave.* His object in visiting the North is to raise money enough to purchase himself, as he is desirous of residing where he has always lived, but wishes also to live there a freeman. The New-York Methodist Conference is now in session in this city. He was advised to gain admittance there, and to state his case. But he is a black man, and more than that, a slave—one of the poorest of "God's poor." He applied in several instances to different members of this Conference of his brother clergymen, but has been repulsed with indifference. What if he is a "brother in the Lord," and in the ministry? He is a slave also; and the very reason which should most entitle him to sympathy and consideration is the very reason with these reverend hypocrites why he should be most despised, and treated with ignominy. The Southern Church which is about establishing its separate organization, because they do not choose to be meddled with in their sin, is more deserving of respect than such a church as this, for they at least are not hypocrites. The one is just as much a Church of Christ as the other, and neither is more entitled to the name than the worshippers of Budha.

To the Abolitionists of New-York.

I have long wished to come into more intimate relations than now exist between us, with the Abolitionists of this city; and it is only because my time is so constantly occupied that I have not long ago made the effort. The few there are of us sprinkled among these hundreds of thousands of pro-slavery people, should at least know each others faces. There is much, moreover, that we might do for advancing the cause among our neighbors, if we could calculate our strength by union. We have something more to do than living on from year to year and in continued neglect of the cause in every way but by reading weekly newspapers, and calling ourselves Abolitionists. We need labor, and associated labor. Every year—nay, every month—should bring forth some fruits of our exertions to convert from the sin of pro-slavery this benighted city. There is not a considerable town in the Northern States that cannot muster a comparatively larger number of Abolitionists than New-York; and not one where their influence is not more sensibly felt by those around them. We are not free from sin in this matter, and it is time we knew each other, and were at work.

I have felt this more keenly within the last week than usual, though it has been for the year past a source of anxious reflection. Many duties present themselves to me, from my position, which single-handed I cannot cope with. I need the co-operation and countenance of others, and see much that might be done by associated action. The duty that at this moment is pressed most earnestly upon my attention is the necessity an efficient Vigilance Committee. That which is now in existence, from the want of funds, or for some other reason, does not answer all the purposes for which it was designed. Many fugitives in the course of a year pass through the city, and there always should be means at hand, and persons ready to help them on beyond the reach of pursuit. Four cases have occured within a week, all needing prompt attention, and three of them making an appeal that could not be resisted. The Vigilance Committee could not or did not do anything for them. They are now out of harm's way, but for future cases provision should be made. Will the friends take this matter in hand? and not only this, but many others which together we can all do, but which no one can alone accomplish? I propose to the Abolitionists of New-York, that they meet at this office, 142 Nassau street, at 7 1-2 o'clock, on Thursday evening of *next week* for consultation, and to devise such measures as shall seem best to them for their future conduct. Will every one of our city readers consider this as an invitation addressed to him or her personally, and be punctual at the appointed hour?

Division of the Methodists.

The Convention at Lonisville brought the first stage of their debate to a close on the 14th instant, by passing the following resolution, with only one dissenting vote:

Resolved by the Delegates of the several Annual Conferences in the South and Southwestern States, in General Convention Assembled, That we cannot sanction the action of the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on the subject of Slavery, by remaining under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this body, without deep and lasting injury to the interests of the church and the country; we therefore hereby instruct the committee on organization that if, upon a careful examination of the whole subject, they find that there is no reasonable ground to hope that the Northern majority will recede from their position, and give safe guaranty for the future security of our civil and ecclesiastical rights, that they report in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the said General Conference.

They have now to form their organization. The Mayor and Common Council of Louisville have passed a series of resolutions, authorizing a Committee to offer the Convention certain inducements to establish their newspaper and book-concern in that city.

Anti-Slavery in Kentucky.

The following paragraph is from the New-York Observer. Of course that paper, which has been always opposed to the Abolitionists, would not only believe the statement of a Southerner, that Abolitionists had done harm, but it would believe nothing else. It is absolutely necessary for its own character as a prophet and a Christian, that it shall always be true that we have done a vast deal of mischief. It acknowledges Slavery to be an evil, and the duty of its abolition, but can only find an excuse for its supineness in the charge of wrong measures upon those who feel that they must. To confess that such labor has been productive of anything but mischief, is to confess its own want of foresight, and dereliction of duty. It is nevertheless true, that the Observer would never have had the courage nor the wish to say even the little it has in this article against Slavery, nor would it have had the occasion to record this report from its Kentucky friend, had not the Abolitionists have done precisely as they have:

An intelligent citizen of Kentucky gave us his opinion a few days since, that *three-fourths* of the inhabitants of that State are in favor of the removal of Slavery. This, he says, is not the result of any recent change of sentiment; on the contrary, he has no doubt that the abolition movement has greatly retarded the cause of emancipation. He assured us that those newspapers at the East, which maintain a decided tone of opposition to Slavery, but have no sympathy with the Abolitionists as a party, are the papers whose influence is working the removal of the evil.

As to the new paper about to be started by Cassius M. Clay, he gave it as his opinion that if the editor pursued a mild and equable course, his effort would be instrumental of great good, that if he should rouse the jealousy and opposition of the Slavery party by denunciation, he would retard the progress of freedom. But he thought that the day of emancipation was not very far distant.

We were not surprised, but we were mortified to hear from this gentleman, that the most bitter and inveterate defenders of Slavery, in the abstract, and in the concrete, are men from the North who have gone there to reside. He says, that as soon as a man settles down in a slave region, he fears that he will not have his proper share of respect and influence unless he declares himself a pro-slavery man; and by dint of loud talking he speedily becomes a thorough advocate of the system. Such is the concurrent testimony of others with whom we have conversed on the subject.

Repeal Associations.

It is gratifying to see that the scorching rebukes of O'Connell of this slave-mongering Republic, are not without their proper effect. The cause of Repeal may have the less money for it, but the cause itself will have the more purity. It was mentioned two or three weeks since, that the Association in Baltimore had been dissolved, and late papers from New Orleans bring the welcome intelligence, that another in that city has come to an end. Some resolutions condemnatory of O'Connell were passed, and the members declared their determination "to maintain their loyalty to the land of their adoption." But bluster as they will, they feel the rebuke of their countrymen at home, who are ashamed of *their* countrymen abroad, that they are base enough to avow themselves the champions of Slavery. It is a significant fact, that while the advocates of a political reform in Ireland, are too pure to receive the blood-stained money of the slaveholder, a professedly Free Church in Scotland sends its servants among these very slaveholders to beg for assistance. Religion there, as here, is less pure than politics.

"Satan Rebuking Sin."

The Express, one of the most pro-slavery prints in this city, talks thus of the Liberty party:

CONSCIENCE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.—Rogues never have their business so well developed, as when it is done by fellow rogues. The richest disclosures of Loco Focoism are almost always made by the distinguished professors of that code of politics. The "Liberty party" are now trying their hand at showing up each others character and hypocrisy.

P. Shapter, Esq. of this city, a leading Abolitionist, and a boon companion of Birney, on hearing last fall that the latter was nominated as a candidate for the Legislature of Michigan, addressed a letter to him, asking him how he could consent to take any office which requires an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, while that Constitution requires the return of runaway slaves, in short requires that the party elected should uphold Slavery.

Mr. Birney, with a cunning as deep as the case would admit, resorts to the rule of the Jesuits, and says that he could take the oath, or rather says that he finds no difficulty "in affirming without qualification to support a constitution of Government!"

So it seems he is willing to support Slavery if it will procure office. The same oath is required of all State officers. In what beautiful consistency this places Messrs. Tappan, Jay, Smith, and Stewart, and others as well as Birney, who constantly thrust themselves before the public, or suffer others to do it, as candidates for office, and who, for the mere love of place, are ready to take oath that they will support Slavery, while with the same breath they denounce that Constitution as a violation of the law of God, and therefore not binding on men.

When these gentlemen accept nominations for office, they, if elected, either intend to take the requisite oaths, and thus violate the laws of God, or they intend to decline acceptances. If they decline, they are guilty of gross hypocrisy towards those who have voted for them by leaving the offices vacant. If they accept and take the oath, they are guilty of perjury towards heaven, as well as hypocrisy towards men, according to their own showing.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church,—old school,—commenced its sessions, at Cincinnati, on the 15th instant.

☞ Our friends abroad will accept our thanks for foreign papers. They are always very welcome.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

From the New-York Tribune, of May 22.

Late from Havana.

The Alabama, Capt. Windle, arrived last evening, says the New Orleans Picayune, of the 7th instant, from Havana, having sailed on the 3d instant. She brings us our correspondence to the day of sailing. The news is unimportant.

The British frigate, Thunderer, left Havana on the 29th ultimo, for the purpose of sounding the waters on the coast of Cuba, and making other surveys which may be useful to England in case of necessity.

The British steamer, Tay, left Havana on the 28th ultimo, for Jamaica.

We had hoped to receive by the Alabama later intelligence from Mexico, but are disappointed.

HAVANA, May 3, 1845.

Our slave-trading community are at present under great excitement in consequence of the promulgation of the new law, which imposes banishment and fines upon those who shall be convicted of being engaged in the traffic. This law will not, however, stop the trade. The ingenuity of man, stimulated by the constant view of the colossal fortunes that have been made in this business, will evade any law that has not been made by clear-sighted legislators, and executed by purer men than Spain yet possesses in her employees. Rumor is also busy spreading the report that an English cruiser on the coast of Africa has captured a Spanish vessel that left this port some months since, with free negroes, duly provided with passports, who were returning to their own country.

It is said that the vessel has been taken to Sierra Leone, the passengers plundered of their effects and money, and turned adrift as liberated Africans, and the master and crew cast into prison. We do not wholly credit this report, but at the same time, with the knowledge we possess of former proceedings in that sink of iniquity, the English settlement on the African coast, we do not think any measure, however high-handed and outrageous, too flagrant for commission there; and it is well known that the British cruisers on that coast are officered and manned by the vilest set of creatures that ever disgraced humanity. We are sorry to add, that if many tales be true, our own cruisers have not wholly escaped the contamination.

Allow us here to add a few remarks upon the condition of our people. The consumption of imported articles is materially checked by every advance in price, and this holds good not only with respect to the article of land, but with every article of food imported from the United States. Burdened with the worst system of taxation, a tariff upon considerable imports, poor and rich contribute almost equally to the support of the revenue, and to the former the impost is the more heavily enhanced by the entire absence, since the hurricane, of their staple food, plantains and sweet potatoes, their means have been gradually exhausted, and the demand for labor afforded by large crops having failed them, they have no alternative but to reduce their consumption, and every advance in prices brings them nearer to starvation. In the meanwhile, capital, protected from equal taxation, accumulates in the hands of the few; and the general stagnation in trade, which is productive of the misery of "the younger sons of Commerce," the toilsome many, deprives them of their wonted employment, and those possessing but small means partake in the general distress.

Should the present system of raising the enormous revenue exacted from the island of Cuba continue, we shall in a few years have a pauper population as large as some of the older countries of Europe.

Business here, continues extremely dull. Sugars we quote at 9 a 13 to 1 a 16 reals. These prices being far above European limits, small purchases for the United States only are made; and stocks largely increasing, the opinion that prices must recede is gaining ground, and speculation has almost wholly ceased.

Molasses has declined. Sales have been made at 5 1-2 rs, and to-day at that rate there are no purchasers.

Flour—300 bbls. per Titi, sold at $15 cash.

Lard—Last sales, $15. This article is slowly advancing, and will doubtless go to $17 or $18. The advance even thus far has materially checked consumption, for the simple reason that people have not the means of consuming at these prices.

Hams, $10 50; Canvassed, $13.

Box Pork, $10 50. None in first hands.

Freights excessively dull at £: 10s. to Cowes. There is, in fact, nothing doing.

Exchange.—On London, 15 per cent. premium; New-York, 3 per cent. premium; Boston, 2 1-2 do. Rather heavy, and will probably give way.

From Mexico.—The New Orleans Picayune of the 16th instant, says:—"The Mexican Schooner Juanita, Estella, master, arrived at this port yesterday from Matamoras, whence she sailed on the 3d instant. She brings us neither letters or papers, but a great abundance of rumors, in which we place very little confidence. They are of the most hostile character, and could one rely upon them, he would suppose Mexico bent on the most desperate purposes and preparing for "war to the knife." We place no great dependence on this news, though it is possible Mexico may be gathering a force at Matamoras for the purpose of threatening Texas or repelling the Camanche Indians."

General Items.

The Episcopal Convention at Philadelphia.—From the Gazette of last evening we learn that two ballots were had yesterday morning for Bishop, without effecting an election, as follows:

First Ballot.—Dr. Bowman, 37; Dr. Tyng, 35; Dr. Morton, 1; Rev. Mr. Morgan, 1; Rev. Mr. Clark, 1.

Second Ballot.—Dr. Bowman, 38; Dr. Tyng, 35; Dr. Morton, 1.

There are 76 clergymen in attendance, and as Drs. Tyng and Bowman did not vote, the canonical majority of 39 was not obtained.

Dr. Tyng here rose and said in substance, that he had obeyed the dictates of friends, and yielded his own wishes and purposes to their affectionate choice, to the full extent which he felt himself called upon to make the sacrifice. Never was the office less desirable than at the present hour; never did he feel greater reluctance to enter upon it. He did not feel himself authorized to assume the responsibility, or his name would never have been before the diocese. Those who were most intimate with his feelings and consultations, knew the extreme reluctance with which he had been led on by the partiality—too affectionate, he feared, of friends—step by step. He had sought the Lord's guidance in the result—he knew no fear of future labors and trials, but he had fears attendant on power and exaltation.

However some might doubt the assurance, he trusted Christian brethren would credit him, that from the bottom of his heart he was averse to his nomination and its possible result in his favor. He therefore now thanked God that he had permission to retire, and therefore, the Convention on its future ballot would be left free to act as it thought best. He wished it understood that his name was finally and unalterably withdrawn from the Convention.—*News.*

The Rev. Mr. Pierpont, by the terms of his separation with the Hollis street church, receives all his arrearages of salary, amounting to about $14,000.

A slave secreted himself on board a vessel at Mobile, which was bound for Philadelphia. The captain soon discovered him after the vessel had got out to sea, and placed him on a Charleston pilot boat, in which he was taken up to that city and then put in jail.

The *Tribune* in giving yesterday some "late religious intelligence," condenses, without any expression of disapprobation, the following piece of miserable sectarianism from a letter in the *New-York Observer*, descriptive of the Madura Mission:—*News.*

"It is rare now to see a Heathen temple repaired, but common to see one going to ruins; rare to see an Idolater become a Romanist, because the change is too slight to be thought worth making; but by no means rare to see both Heathen and Romanists embracing revealed truth."

Rev. Theodore S. Wright, Pastor of the Colored Presbyterian Congregation in Frankfort street, who has been absent since December on account of ill health, arrived at Boston, from Nassau, in the schooner Hudson, on Wednesday. The Boston Chronicle states that his health is much improved.

Appointments by the President.—Thomas N. Carr, of New-York, Consul United States for Morocco, vice John F. Mullowney, recalled.

Simeon M. Johnson, Consul for Port of Matanzas, in Cuba, vice Thomas M. Rodney, recalled.

Benjamin P. Jell, Register Land Office, Washington, Ark. vice Samuel C. Wheat, removed.

William Adams, Receiver of public moneys, Johnson C. H. Arkansas, vice Alfred Henderson, removed.

John Bruton, Register of Land Office, Johnson C. H. Arkansas, vice James Woodson Bates, removed.

Episcopal Convention—The sixty-first annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, assembled in Philadelphia on Tuesday.

NOTICES.

ABOLITIONISTS OF RHODE ISLAND.

DEAR FRIENDS,—*The Annual Fair* of the *Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, will be held in this city on the *first Wednesday* (Commencement Day) of September, 1845.

On behalf of this Fair, we would address not only the friends of Freedom in Rhode Island, but the enemies of Slavery everywhere. "Our Country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind." We are endeavoring to overcome, not only our foes, but the foe of universal freedom and of all freemen. The *spirit* of Slavery recognizes, not geographical limits, neither should the saving spirit of freedom. The friends of *Slavery* make common cause. They pour out their sympathy to each other in overwhelming currents. Why should localities throw the cramping cords of restraint around the *energies*, and the blasting influences of non-co-operation, about the *fellowship* of the truly free?

The recent startling and bloody aggressions of the slave spirit in threatening, imprisoning, branding, shooting, and murdering those of our brethren who dare feel, speak, and act for the bondman as bound with him; who dare think that mercy is *not* a crime, call for strengthened and more powerful, nay, unwearied exertions—more self-denial—personal sacrifice on our part, that we may bid the monster back to the hellish place of its birth. As a nation, we are on the verge of ruin. The prisons, the bloody defiance of the oppressor—the cry of our murdered brother's blood, from every mountain and valley—plain and swamp, of the South;—the shriek of the captured fugitive, as he is hurled back to bondage by slavery's northern "hell dogs;"—all these and more, proclaim to us that inaction *is treason*, and silence, *crime*.

Come and help us. Help us expel from the world a monster spirit that gluts upon the liberties and lives of God's free men. Be not penurious—"As ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them." Your own bodies are imprisoned—the fetters are on your limbs—the iron in your soul—inasmuch as this is your brother's fate.

Give us of your substance—no matter of what name, kind or nature it may be—everything—anything will be valuable. Almost *every* person has *something* that may be devoted to this purpose. Will you not hunt it up? Do it for humanity's sake—for your own sake.

All contributions, or communications for information or otherwise, may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, corner of Broad and Doranee Streets, care of Amarancy Paine.

S. R. Harris, *Hannah B. Shove.*
Mary R. Clarke, *Lucretia Francis,*
Abby Thurber, *Olive Tuber,*
Sarah B. R. Foster, *Abby A. Lake,*
Caroline Ashley, *Abby Burgess,*
Sarah R. Smith, *Mary Smith,*
Elizabeth H. Brown, *Amarancy Paine.*

PROVIDENCE, May 10th, 1845.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

☞ The Massachusetts Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, will hold a meeting on Friday of the anniversary week, (the last in May,) in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston. Further notice will be given hereafter. We hope our friends from abroad will be there to help the cause along!

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the New Hampshire Anti Slavery Society, holden at Concord, April 21, 1845, it was

Voted, That the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society will be holden on WEDNESDAY, the 3d of June next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. in the Town Hall in Concord, to act on the following business, viz:

To receive and act upon the reports of the Executive Committee and the Treasurer;—to elect the officers of for the ensuing year;—to transact such other business as the interests of the Society and the cause in which it is engaged may require, and to attend to such communications and discussions upon the great cause of Human Freedom, as time and circumstances may afford.

BENJAMIN COMINGS, *President.*
J. H. ELA, *Secretary.*

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Are you ready, dear friends, to commence with us preparations for the Pennsylvania Fair of 1845? Warm hearts and active hands we would enlist, at this early period, that no time may be lost which might be profitably spent in this service. Information respecting what is to be done, it can scarcely be necessary to offer to those who, year by year, have been laboring side by side with us in this department of Anti-Slavery toil, and whose skill and ingenuity have been again and again proved. We want whatever liberal souls will devise, and ready hands execute. The Committee commence their efforts this year with the hope of making the Fair superior to those of preceding years, but this hope cannot, of course, be realized, without your diligent and hearty co-operation. On this we rely. Need we urge upon you motives to action? The slave has found no respite from his sufferings shall we seek respite from our labors in his behalf? Trusting that you are as ready for this work as ourselves, we suggest that you should immediately begin to inquire what you can give or do for this purpose, and how you can best enlist the services of your friends and neighbors. Will some active friends of the cause take measures for forming sewing circles in their neighborhoods, where articles may be manufactured, donations deposited, and interest excited for the Fair? From such a measure, much benefit, beside pecuniary emolument, results to the Anti-Slavery cause. Will not the friends of the cause in Chester, Bucks, and other counties, adopt this plan, and furnish tables, to be superintended by themselves at the Fair? And will not those who cannot conveniently unite with these circles, be diligent and faithful in individual effort? Of all the friends of the slave in city and country, we ask aid. Of the merchant, we ask contributions of merchandise, of the mechanic, the fruit of his handiwork; of the farmer, the produce of his garden, fields, and poultry-yard. But we ask of all *only* the products of *free* and *requited* labor.

Let us, dear friends, commence our efforts with a determination that our next Fair shall yield great and good results to our cause, and *it will do so.*

Contributions may be sent to any member of the Committee, or to J. M. McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Emma Parker, *Anna M. Hopper,*
Mary Grew, *Maria M. Davis,*
Sarah M. McKim, *Sarah Pugh,*
Hester Reckless, *Martha Carman,*
Lydia Gillingham, *Sarah Douglass,*
Gertrude K. Burleigh, *Sarah Lewis,*
Elizabeth J. Neall, *Margaret Jones,*
Olive Bacon, *Emily A. Winslow,*
Susan Grew, *Margaret Griscom,*
Hannah L. Stickney, *Teresa K. Hallowell,*
Mary T. Stickney.

LIBERATED SLAVES—EMPLOYMENT WANTED.

Places are wanted, in either town or country, for the following colored women, lately slaves in Louisiana; being a portion of those recently emancipated by John G. Palfrey, Esq. Secretary of the Commonwealth, viz:

BETSEY, 31 years old, having a son 5 years old.
MARIA, aged 23, having a daughter 3 years old.
MARGERY, aged 21, having two infants.
ROSE, aged 13 years.
FRANKEY, [girl,] aged 12 years.

The last named have some knowledge of housework They are all believed to be strong and healthy, of correct deportment, and more capable and intelligent, than the average of persons of their class in Louisiana. They are now in Boston, on expense; and wages are not so much a consideration, as procuring for them, immediately, homes in respectable families, where they may learn to gain a subsistence for themselves and their children.

Persons disposed to receive one or more of them, will please write by mail, to ELLIS GRAY LORING,
No. 27 State St. Boston.

HO! FRIENDS OF MAN!

Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold its next anniversary in New Lisbon, on the 5th day of 6th month. (June.)

Arrangements are being made to secure the attendance of many of the prominent advocates of human rights in our own and other States, of which, together with other particulars, timely notice will be given.

Let every man and woman who has a heart to feel for, and a soul to sympathize with suffering humanity, at once make up his or her mind to be present.

By order of the Ex. Com. O. A. A. S. S.
JESSE HOLMES, Cor. Sec.

FULLER AND WAYLAND ON SLAVERY.—Just published—

Domestic Slavery considered as a Scriptural Institution; in a Correspondence between the Rev. Richard Fuller, D. D. of Beaufort, South Carolina, and the Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D. of Providence, Rhode Island.

The third edition is now in press, and orders can be promptly answered. It fills a place never before occupied—a calm, candid, and very able discussion of the subject in a Christian-like manner. No one should be without it, as it will long be a book of reference.

"This is the best specimen of controversial writing on Slavery or on any other subject, we have ever read. The parties engaged in it are men of high distinction, and pre-eminently qualified for the task; and the kind and Christian spirit that pervades the entire work, is a beautiful commentary on the power of the gospel. This discussion is compl

Poetry.

From the American Review for May.

OLD ——.

BY REV. RALPH HOYT.

By the wayside, on a mossy stone,
Sat a hoary pilgrim sadly musing;
Oft I marked him sitting there alone,
All the landscape like a page perusing;
Poor, unknown,—
By the wayside on a mossy stone.

Buckled knee and shoe, and broad-rimmed hat,
Coat as ancient as the form 'twas folding,
Silver buttons, queue, and crimped cravat,
Oaken staff, his feeble hand upholding,
There he sat!
Buckled knee, and shoe, and broad-rimmed hat.

Seemed it pitiful he should sit there,
No one sympathizing, no one heeding,
None to love him for his thin grey hair,
And the furrows all so mutely pleading,
Age, and care:
Seemed it pitiful he should sit there.

It was Summer and we went to school,
Dapper country lads, and little maidens,
Taught the motto of the "Dunce's stool,"—
Its grave import still my fancy ladens,—
"Here's a Fool!"
It was Summer and we went to school.

When the stranger seemed to mark our play,
Some of us were joyous, some sad-hearted,
I remember well,—too well,—that day,—
Oftentimes the tears unbidden started,—
Would not stay!
When the stranger seemed to mark our play.

One sweet spirit broke the silent spell—
Ah! to me her name was always heaven!—
She besought him all his grief to tell,—
(I was then thirteen, and she eleven,)
Isabel!
One sweet spirit broke the silent spell.

Angel, said he, sadly, I am old;
Earthly hope no longer hath a morrow,
Yet, why sit I here thou shalt be told,—
Then his eye betrayed a pearl of sorrow,—
Down it rolled!
Angel, said he, sadly, I am old!

I have tottered here to look once more
On the pleasant scene where I delighted
In the careless, happy days of yore,
Ere the garden of my heart was blighted:—
To the core!
I have tottered here to look once more!

All the picture now to me how dear!
E'en this grey old rock where I am seated,
Is a jewel worth my journey here;
Ah, that a such a scene must be completed
With a tear!
All the picture now to me how dear!

Old stone schoolhouse!—it is still the same!
There's the very step so oft I mounted;
There's the window creaking in its frame,
And the notches that I cut and counted
For the game;
Old stone schoolhouse!—it is still the same!

In the cottage, yonder, I was born;—
Long my happy home—that humble dwelling!—
There the fields of clover, wheat, and corn,
There the spring with limpid nectar swelling;
Ah, forlorn!
In the cottage, yonder, I was born.

Those two gate-way sycamores you see,
Then were planted just so far asunder;
That long well-pole from the path to free,
And the wagon to pass safely under;—
Ninety-three;
Those two gate-way sycamores you see!

There's the orchard where we used to climb
When my mates and I were boys together,
Thinking nothing of the flight of time,
Fearing naught but work and rainy weather;
Past its prime!
There's the orchard were we used to climb!

There, the rude, three-cornered chestnut rails,
Round the pasture where the cows were grazing,
Where, so sly, I used to watch for quails
In the crops of buckwheat we were raising,—
Traps and trails,—
There, the rude, three-cornered chestnut rails.

There's the mill that ground our yellow grain;
Pond, and river still serenely flowing;
Cot, there nestling in the shaded lane,
Where the lily of my heart was blowing,—
Mary Jane!
There's the mill that ground our yellow grain!

There's the gate on which I used to swing,
Brook, and bridge, and barn, and old red stable;
But alas! no more the morn shall bring
That dear group around my father's table;—
Taken wing!—
There's the gate on which I used to swing!

I am fleeing!—all I loved are fled;
Yon green meadow was our place for playing;
That old tree can tell of sweet things said,
When round it Jane and I were straying:—
She is dead!
I am fleeing!—all I loved are fled!

Yon white spire—a pencil on the sky,
Tracing silently life's changeful story—
So familiar with my dim old eye,
Points me to seven that are now in glory
There on high!
Yon white spire, a pencil on the sky!

Oft the aisle of that old church we trod,
Guided thither by an angel mother;
Now she sleeps beneath its sacred sod,—
Sire and sisters, and my little brother—
Gone to God!
Oft the aisle of that old church we trod!

There my Mary blest me with her hand,
When our souls drank in the nuptial blessing,
Ere we wandered to that distant land—
Now, alas! her gentle bosom pressing;—
There I stand!
There my Mary blest me with her hand!

Angel, said he, sadly, I am old!
Earthly hope no longer hath a morrow;—
Now, why sit I here thou hast been told:—
In his eye another pearl of sorrow,—
Down it rolled!
Angel, said he, sadly, I am old!

Be the wayside, on a mossy stone,
[illegible] sadly musing;
[illegible] sitting there alone,
All the landscape, like a page, perusing;
Poor, unknown,
By the wayside, on a mossy stone!

Miscellany.

From the India (Calcutta) Review.

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

(Concluded.)

"Assuming as I do, for the sake of argument—and deeming it unnecessary in your presence to prove—that the distresses of our country spring not from natural but from artificial causes—not from the chastening hand of God, but the death-dealing laws of man—not from the absence of the opportunities to trade, but, from the unjust and wicked prohibitions upon mutual interchange—and not at present going farther into the workings of the national distress, I ask,—see you not the close connection between the acts of the Goverument and the religion and morality of the people? See you not that that which deranges the springs of industry, and annihilates the profits of trade, saps the piety of the people—palsies the hands of the teachers of religion—renders comparatively abortive the labors of good men—strikes off the blossoms which their culture had made to appear—and curses with moral sterility the region which otherwise might have been a fruitful garden? The commercial blight which falls upon religious assemblies soon reaches the family and the school. The fireside, once the seat of nightly hymn and prayer, where aspiring youth recounted the triumphs of the school, or rehearsed the favorite poem, becomes still and gloomy. The domestic comforts are reduced every week; the apparel of the family is worn, shabby, and patched; the wife, ignorant of her husband's difficulties, attributes her deficient allowances to his sinister habits of abated industry: the children join the clamors and complaints of the mother; and the husband, wrung to the soul by undeserved reproaches, perhaps commences an attendance at the tavern, which quickens the distress an hundred fold. At length the supplies altogether fail; the want of trade forces the pledge or sale of everything that will produce money; and thus, the once comfortable abode of the respected mechanic is stripped to the bare walls, and the prospect is even worse than the past. Is this a mere fancy? Let those in our large towns, or in this city, who are dubious of these averments, turn into the next street, and visit kindly the abodes of our once independent population, and judge for themselves. The physiognomy of the parents will be enough. They have not blazoned their destitution, *but they have no bed.* They have kept their children from plying the doors of their neighbors with tales of distress; but they have cried themselves to sleep. The parents chide each other for fools that they ever married, or were not more penurious in their prosperity. Their heart has relinquished hope—and taken to moods of alternate desperation and despondency: love is no longer in existence. The family is a mere juxtaposition of wretched creatures whose mutual sympathies have been destroyed by an involuntary self-ruin. Self-respect is given up: blasphemy against the God of Heaven is heard, where the inmates are *desolate and hungry.* Maledictions fall heavy on the heads of Governors—reverence for the laws is extinguished—plans of nightly theft are at length plotted without compunction; and the heart of the once independent and contented mechanic swells now big with the turboil resolves of suicide; and now with vows of ruthless abandonment to supposed fate. I boldly say, that the cases of deterioration and ruin of this kind, so lamentably frequent in our country, during some years past, lie at the doors of our rulers and legislators. On them fall the accumulated maledictions of these beggared wretches, with each setting sun and morning light. They know the remedy as well as we. The history of such men is not yet written; and I neither envy its contents nor desire to share their responsibility.

* * * * * *

"Besides, the retention of a bad law operates mischievously in other directions. The sense of right and wrong grows strong by gratification and use. Popular indignation calls to its aid intrigue and cabal, when it is manifest that reason and justice have no force; and the defenders of wicked laws give a mighty impulse to sophistry and mammon, to uphold what reason condemns and facts disprove. The retention of bad laws becomes a precedent to successive Parliaments and to other Governments; for, as far as the history of our base provision laws is known, it will be shown, that the nation that has covered the earth with its missionaries and its arts, has yet the wickedness to starve its own poor, and the impolicy to ruin its own commerce, to retain the phantasmal dignity of an aristocratic faction. The authority of the English Government is doubtless great, and will hereafter become the theme of frequent quotation, but, wherever its laws shall be imitated, Great Britain will be answerable for having done her best to propagate the monstrous falsehoods of the corn laws. Again, Sir, a season like the present never comes without thoughts and theories of a revolution. Quiet and industrious men, in multitudes, catch the fervor of innovation: plans of indiscriminate vengeance are concocted: the press takes fire, and while one portion of it panders aliment to olden prejudices, another ministers to the new passions of Constitution-makers and demagogues, to whom mischief is a mine of wealth, and peaceable commerce a plague, and who ascend into the captaincies of the operative class: youth, unable to read, are taught to scout at the wisdom of ages; and men of battered fortunes, and still more battered reputations, find a market for their services, at least among the ignorant and profane—unhappily, yet the majority of every nation. Informers become common, if not necessary, and by their vile arts inveigle the weak into ruinous and often fatal positions, and thus sedition's prelude proceeds. The contrivance of obnoxious laws swell the cause and proofs of discontent, and after a few outbreaks of the people, "massacre" is the word, and the organized force of the Government triumphs over the disorderly power of the multitude, and the heartless upholders of insane laws quote their victories in support of the very abuses that originated the infraction of the law.

* * * * * *

"The morality of the law should be its strength, and it is so, when their justice is 'judged of all.' Were Governments just—States would be eternal. But we are told that it is impossible, by the wisest system of legislation, to prevent these periods of commercial distress—these visitations of famine—these recurring seasons of blight and mildew upon the fair prospects and blossoming hopes of a nation—these wholesale prostrations of a nation's morality, and general stagnation of its most sublime and elevating agencies. We are told that they are collapses as natural and necessary to the healthy progress of industry, as periods of rest and sleep to the animal system: and some will tell you that by studious and profound calculations they have penetrated the mystery hidden from vulgar eyes, and can prove by figures that the most precious portion of a community like ours should partially submit to famine as a punishment for being too industrious—and too ingenious—and too enterprising. (Hear, hear.) That it is not the corn laws, or other restrictions upon trade, that have entailed and worked these evils, but the genius of Watt, and Bolton, and Arkwright, and the avarice of men who have given employment to millions at home, that they might clothe the bodies of millions abroad. These astute arithmeticians—these patient, plodding calculators of a world's wants, and a people's destiny—who count spindles and measure the power of steam—and reckon the noses of the population—and who greatly love the corn laws—not because they happen to possess the land, and realize a few extra thousands by their existence, ten per cent on which they are willing to give to the poor, if you will only let them keep the other ninety—who love these laws simply because of their wisdom and beneficence, and because Sir James Graham loves them, who once demonstrated that they were the most unlovely things that ever defaced the statute-book of any country—these new lights who shed their radiance over dark intellects, will tell you that the evils we deplore, come of machinery and its too productive powers. They will tell you that the Creator has invested the mind with powers destructive of itself. That the more the intellect expands, and the nearer it approaches to perfection, the condition of the bulk of nations must of necessity become worse. This is the pith and marrow of the famous argument of '*over production.*' The calculations of our modern Casios, who consume the midnight oil, when hungry children have wept themselves to sleep, bring them to the conclusion, that these distresses are the consequences of the triumph of mind over matter—the curses which genius has inflicted on a nation, which was happy in the days of the distaff, and knew no sorrow till the mule and the spinning-jenney were invented. And to prove their prophecies, and uphold their theory, they sustain laws which shut us out of the markets of the world, and when they have deprived machinery of fair play, turn round and say—'Behold the ruin it has wrought!"

* * * * * *

Mr. Thompson's visit to India, forms the latest, though we sincerely trust that it will not prove the last important event in his active and useful life. His motives in undertaking so long a journey, have been explained by himself in speeches delivered at various farewell meetings in England and Scotland, as well as in addresses delivered to the native community since his arrival in this country. From the latter we make several extracts, in order that our readers may be fully informed in reference to the objects which Mr. Thompson has in view. A week after his landing, Mr. Thompson was invited to attend a monthly meeting of a society composed of Hindoo gentlemen, established for promoting the acquisition of General Knowledge. At this meeting Mr. Thompson, at the request of the Chairman, delivered an address, and at once unfolded the object of his visit to these shores. He said:

"I have long felt a deep and constantly growing interest in the condition, the prospects, and the destinies of the people in India. I have read of India, and I have dreamed of India. I have written respecting India, and I have spoken in behalf of India. But dreaming, or talking, or writing, I have always had one wish present to my mind, that I might see the country for myself, might mingle with its people as I do now, and, through the knowledge acquired by travelling and observation, be able to be of more service to the cause of my fellow-subjects here. At length I am permitted, through the kindness of Divine Providence, to stand upon your soil, and this evening I find myself in the midst of some of the most educated and enlightened of the natives of the country. So great do I esteem this privilege to be, that I can hardly believe that I am not even now enjoying a delightful dream rather than gazing upon a real scene. Allow me to say it is no feeling of mere curiosity that has prompted my visit to your shores; still less a desire to advance my personal and worldly interests. My duties and engagements at home were of too important a nature to suffer me to abandon them, even for a short time, from any consideration less than a conviction that my future usefulness might be promoted by a knowledge of the actual state of things around you. I come not, therefore, to gaze upon the splendor of your rivers, the sublimity of your mountain scenery, or the grandeur of your scattered monuments of former greatness. All these are objects of interest, and as they come in my way, I shall contemplate them with no ordinary regard. I come, however, to study the living population, and all other subjects, only in connection with the present and future well-being of those who were created to possess and enjoy the riches and the splendor of this glorious region."

He thus concludes the same address:

"The object which brings me to this country is nearly allied to your own, in fact, it is one and the same,—the acquisition of knowledge. I have heard of you and of your country by the hearing of the ear, and I think I know something of your condition, peculiarities, and wants, from the study of the best informed writers; but this was not enough for one who sought to give an accurate representation of the real state of things. I have therefore come hither to see and judge for myself, and as long as I remain, shall esteem it a duty and a privilege to cultivate the acquaintance of the native population, that I may understand their feelings and their views. The only reward I seek for any efforts in your cause, is to see you qualifying yourselves to be hereafter the enlightened vindicators of the claims of your countrymen to the sympathy and support of all the lovers of moral and political justice in England."

At another meeting of native gentlemen, he thus frankly avows his feelings towards the native community, and his views of the general conduct and duties of his countrymen:

"He trusted he was entirely destitute of that prejudice which led too many of his countrymen to regard the natives of the countries they had colonized or conquered, with disdain. He (Mr. T.) had no such feeling. With the religious views which he held, he should consider that he committed an offence against the Being who was the maker of all men, if he allowed country or complexion to make any difference in the treatment he pursued towards his fellow-creatures. He respected men according to their virtue and intelligence, and judged them according to the circumstances in which they had been placed. If men were ignorant or degraded, through the disadvantages of their birth, and their want of education, they were not therefore to be despised, but to be commiserated and befriended. Weakness had a sacred claim upon strength. Neither nations nor individuals were justified in taking advantage of the ignorance or helplessness of others. He frankly avowed his conviction, that his countrymen had too often forgotten their duty, and had been more anxious to extend their territory, and increase their wealth, than to promote the happiness and elevation of those whom they made subject to their sway. The time was coming, he trusted, when the duties which England owed to her dependencies would be better understood and better performed."

Again, in the same speech he says:

"Without in the least degree wishing to bring discredit upon the *intentions* of the rulers of India, he had long thought it essential to the interests of the people of India, that their fellow-subjects in England should cherish a more lively concern for their welfare. But this could not be effected, as long as a profound ignorance brooded over the affairs of India. It was to dispel this ignorance, that he resolved some years ago to exert his voice and his pen. He believed he had not labored in vain. Still he had found it both difficult to obtain information, and difficult to bring his countrymen to believe that which he had collected from the best available sources. To remove these impediments, as far as might be, he had undertaken a voyage to India to see and judge for himself. Through books he had become familiar with the past history of the country. He had read the works of those who had described the country while under Governments exclusively Hindoo. He had read various accounts of the Mahommedan conquests, and their effects. He was familiar with the history of his own countrymen in these shores, and the characters and acts of the many celebrated men who had ruled here in various departments. He had studied the mechanism and operations of the British Indian Government, and had left no means untried of obtaining accurate information of the real condition of the people under British rule. But though he would venture to say that his statements, as respected principles and general measures, could not be successfully controverted, yet, at the same time, he had always felt the necessity in his peculiar circumstances, of possessing a personal acquaintance with the country. But there was another object he desired to accomplish by his visit to India. It was, to rouse the intelligent natives themselves, to a sense of the necessity of becoming the narrators of their own grievances, as far as they suffered under any, that were removable by legislation. He had no wish to inflame the minds of the multitude, or to spread a spirit of disaffection through their ranks. He should sincerely deplore the dissolution, (were it practicable,) of the present connection between this country and Great Britain: for this reason, chiefly, that he thought the people of England were just awakening to a sense of their duty, and would hereafter, if wise measures were adopted, be induced to manifest such an interest in Indian affairs, as would lead to the most wide and beneficial results."

Mr. Thompson disclaims all desire of concealment or secret organization, in the carrying out of his plans. He is thus explicit on this point:

"He did not wish these meetings to be considered *secret.* He had not in his heart a single wish or thought respecting India, which he was not prepared to avow in the most public manner. All that he had to say to his native friends, he was willing to say, if it were convenient, in the presence of his countrymen and the Government of the country. All his plans were in perfect unison with the maintenance and perpetuity of the British sway, because they were founded in justice and impartiality—principles, he conceived most likely to attach the people to their rulers. He had no means to purpose which were not pure, and peaceful, and constitutional. He could embark in no movement dictated by a spirit of faction, or promoted by improper agencies. Whatever objects he sought to gain, (and they were all of a loyal and peaceable character,) he sought to gain by the spread of knowledge, by moral power; in a word, through the influence of the intelligence and virtue of the people."

In another of his weekly addresses, Mr. Thompson gives the followjag advice to his friends, and with this extract we shall conclude:

"You should, besides, become familiar with the principles of your own Government, you should know the nature and character of the progressive changes which it has undergone, and the means by which those changes have been brought about. By such a process, you will understand how future changes may be effected, and how the acts of the Government may be modified or controlled. Let me say, also, that in your peculiar situation, you should study the history of England, and obtain a knowledge of the Constitution and form of Government, as well as of the genius and spirit of the British people. I need not tell you that England is the fountain-head from which your benefits must flow. The Charter under which you are governed is made in England. The men who rule you, through the power that Charter gives them, come from England. The monarch of these realms has her throne in England. The source of patronage is in England. The Board of Control is in England. The East India Company's Directors are in England. And, besides all these, and, let me say, above all these, and more powerful far than all these put together, there is an enlightened people, who with all their faults, (and I would be the last man to praise my country beyond its deserts,) have a strong sense of justice, a quick perception of what is right, a generous feeling for the helpless and oppressed, and an energy of character which, when displayed in a righteous cause, has always triumphed over every difficulty. Such are the people of England, their enemies themselves being judges. This country and this people you should know. I fear no dissolution of any subsisting ties, from the cultivation of the most intimate knowledge of the people of Great Britain. Judge not of our country by the acts of a few. Judge us rather by those deeds of universal charity, which have gained us unsullied fame even at the ends of the earth. Our national power has been abused—our honor too often tarnished—our resources too often prostituted—and our religion too often disgraced—but the heart of England has not been turned from the love of justice, nor her arm paralyzed in the cause of the poor."

We have thus made Mr. Thompson the author of one of the most interesting portions of his own history,—the history of his mind—its workings, its principles, and its views, upon those great questions in which he has taken so conspicuous a share. This, as a public man, and a Reformer, (in the truest and best sense of the word,) is *the* portion of his history in which mankind feel the deepest interest; and it is the peculiar characteristic of Mr. Thompson's public addresses, that he leaves no room for conjecture respecting the motives which animate him, or the object at which he aims, or the measures by which he proposes to reach the goal of his desires. Openness, manliness, and transparency, are always conspicuous; and these will command respect and confidence from honest opponents, as well as from admiring friends. Mr. Thompson carries his heart in his hand, saying to all,—"Search me, and prove me, and know my ways." We believe that these moral qualities, rather than the possession of the gift of eloquence, have obtained for Mr. Thompson the position which he fills in the estimation of his countrymen, and not of them alone, but in the estimation of those in every land who desire to see the day, when, the emphatic words of Mr. Thompson, "*morality* and *politics*, shall be synonymous."

Having briefly traced the public career of Mr. Thompson through the past, it remains but to say a few words in connection with his labors at the present time. He has now chosen for his field, a wide and noble sphere, and one in which, unhappily, the laborers are too few. Should his life be spared, we trust he will be individually of great service to the country whose cause he has espoused, and find many worthy and zealous coadjutors in his benevolent and patriotic toils. As his sole object, while in India, is to collect information and extend his observations on the actual state of things, we trust that all who have the means of rendering him assistance will place their means at his disposal. In proportion to the knowledge he obtains, will be his ability to serve the cause of India, when he shall hereafter (as we trust he will) stand forward to enlighten our countrymen at home, and to enlist their sympathies and energies in the benign work of ameliorating the condition of a hundred millions of human beings. As Mr. Thompson emphatically disclaims all mercenary and factious motives, he is entitled to the confidence and assistance of men of all parties; and as his desire is to form just opinions, every opportunity should be afforded him, of seeing the workings of that great system by which this country is governed. We believe Mr. Thompson finds no reason to complain of the disposition of those who are at present exercising authority at this presidency. It must have been to him a source of sincere satisfaction, to find himself anticipated on one question of great interest and importance—that of Slavery. We hope he may remain long enough to see the proposed acts on that subject adopted and carried out, and, also, to see other great measures of improvement commenced. So that, when he shall return to his native land, he may have a bright side as well as a dark one to present before his countrymen; and, while he finds it his duty to point to many evils, and many defects, be at the same time able to point to many salutary reforms, and to herald the dawning of a better era upon these regions. May the God who has been his guide and protector hitherto, and thrown over him His shield in the hour of peril, and made him the honored instrument of achieving much in the cause of suffering humanity, still be his conductor and defence, and make him yet more abundantly honored and useful! And, when at last he ceases to labor and to live, may the Indian and the Negro hold in equal and grateful affection the memory of the labors and triumphs of George Thompson!

In person Mr. Thompson is tall, of a full and manly, though not robust form: the features handsome, and, when discoursing on any subject of interest, express with peculiar animation and force the various emotions of his mind. The portrait, we doubt not, will be recognized as faithful. The position and expression are both characteristic:—the latter presents, we think, more of what is commonly termed "life," than most of Mr. Grant's sketches usually exhibit.

From the London Punch.

THE HANGMAN'S "MORAL LESSONS."

The world has met a great loss in the early execution of Tawell. That world, which, day after day, has looked for "the Salthill murder" with an interest and curiosity scarcely awakened by the chronicler of the *Court Circular;* which has not felt itself quite at ease, until assured of the kind of night passed by the assassin: whether he slept much or little; and whether, on rising for the day, he partook of breakfast with his wonted gusto, or delicately dallied with his tea and toast; whether his dinner was served him from an Aylesbury inn, or the prison kitchen; whether he read or wrote; whether he spoke much or was taciturn; whether his spirits were placid and hopeful; or whether, in sooth, they desponded to the death.

The world, we say, has been too suddenly deprived of a subject of absorbing and most humanizing interest, by the mortal manipulation of hangman Calcraft. The murderer, yet living, was made, by the industry and benevolence of the press, a dainty daily dish to set before a most thinking public. *L'appétit vient en mangeant.* Every day brought with it a new relish to all matters, real and apocryphal, associated with the bloodshedder. For how many weeks have certain ingenious, industrious scribes, like the king of old, lived on poison! How have certain artists, to create and meet the public appetite, tried to paint the moral Ethiop, a still deeper black; how have old iniquities, done by certain unknown somebodies, been sought out, and for a time been very confidently tried upon Tawell, as assuredly belonging to him; and then ingeniously cast aside, confessed to be misfits? For a time he was a sort of criminal dummy, on which any imagined wickedness might be hung. His first wife and sons died suddenly: they must have been poisoned by the husband and father! Oh, no? their illness was lingering, and was watched by the most skilful physicians. Some years ago, a rogue, in Quaker's drab, cheated somebody in Cornwall: no doubt the rogue was Tawell. The somebody having, by the grace of the *Pictorial Times*, seen Tawell's portrait—travel's, it may be from the Land's End, to confront the original at Aylesbury. No; again a mistake. Tawell is not to be seen; but it is proved that the Cornish rascal wrote a large, bold hand; whereas, the murderer's calligraphy is small and delicate, and he is therefore judged not to be the man. All this, however, is of no matter. The blacking of yesterday is rubbed off only to admit of new blacking to-day. It is necessary, for a great moral purpose, that the homicide should be kept continually in the world's eye; the world expects it, and naturally looks for some new particulars: every morning yearns for such relish with its breakfast bacon.

And after such fashion we are taught a horror of bloodshedding. We are called into the cell of the assassin; we are required to give earnest attention to his every look—his every syllable—to note down the cut and color of his clothes; to chronicle on our memory what he eats and what he drinks; that we may, with all our heart and all our soul, the more intensely loath and abominate the "deep damnation of his guilt. The more we know of the pettiest doings or a murderer, the greater our horror of murder! Our virtue is marvellously strengthened by the gossip of the condemned cell.

It would not accord with the "ends of justice," or the wounded dignity of human nature, to cast a veil over the miserable homicide from the moment of his conviction until the final expiation of his crime. Oh, no! we must have the daily chit-chat of the jail. Such knowledge is a tonic to the world's goodness. And when the execution comes, certain worthy people, like the Gravesend pilgrims noticed in our last, travel to the gallows, that their virtue may be further sweetened by the dying breath of the murderer.

The crime, too, in proportion to its fiend-like wickedness, casts a peculiar interest about the evil-doer. Murder may be a poor, small, sneak-up crime, almost unworthy of the quill of the penny-a-liner. It may, too, assume a dignity and importance that, in his inspiration, shall astonish even him with new eloquence; now breathing words of fire, and now dropping syllables of honey.

We are told that, in the case of Tawell, the governor of the jail refused the proffered assistance of several convicts, desirous of trying their "'prentice hand" on the culprit at Aylesbury, and resolved:

"Contrary to his original intention, upon having the assistance of Calcraft, in order that *no unfortunate occurrence* shall attend the exit of one *to whom public attention is so earnestly and generally directed.*"

Had Tawell been a small, very plebeian murderer, he might have been consigned to an amateur Jack Ketch. But no; the greatness of his atrocity had secured him a right to the very best professional assistance, although in the end the poor wretch was cruelly dealt with by the dullards in authority.

The writer, whom we have just quoted, next dilates upon the gallows itself—eloquently, tenderly:

"The gallows, which has not been in requisition since one Thomas Bate was hung for murder on the 31st of March, 1837, needs but little fitting and adjustment. *Its hugg'black members* have been brought from their *obscure resting-place*, and examined *and dusted for to-morrow's service.*"

It is a great satisfaction—a great relief to an enlightened public, wrought beyond itself by a most laudable curiosity, to know that the gallows "is dusted!" We doubt not there are many enthusiasts who would treasure the duster, enriched with such interesting particles!

The gallows chronicler proceeds:

"Two upright beams slip into iron fastenings at each end, and a cross-beam connects them. Upon the surface of *this sturdy rail* are three indentations, made by the ropes by which former malefactors have been hung. The equal distances between these bruises on the wood *were regulated by chalk marks, which still remain.* The centre inequality *on the face of the gallows-tree* was made many years ago by a man of enormous weight, who was hung for sheep stealing."

It is something for the world to know all this. They are savory tid-bits of gossip, that whet and give a zest to the public appetite, hungry for a hanging. The world, however, has been well supplied of late with the great moral examples said to blossom on the gallows. Sir James Graham, with a benevolence that endears him to the country, and will hallow his name in its history, especially chooses the day of a great Christian holyday for an execution. On the two past Easter Mondays he has hanged a man, doubtless, with the excellent intention of awakening in the minds of the holyday-makers a seriousness that shall healthfully act against the temptations of the season. First Newgate, and then Greenwich fair and Stepney!

The *Times'* reporter, in speaking of the execution of Tapping, says: "The large majority seemed to have made their pilgrimage to Newgate the opening of a day's holyday!" Excellent Sir James! He never neglects the pleasures of the people! Turning the *Times'* page, we next light upon two striking evidences of the great moral example of hanging; for, at Guildhall, a lad, named Richard Lee, is arraigned for stealing a silk handkerchief, "while looking at the hanging corpse;" and Jacob Lazarus, aged 26, is charged with filching an eye-glass "under the same circumstances." Truly, we think such pilfering shows the hangman to be a great moral teacher.

Tawell was, it seems, executed in his Quaker dress. It has been said that the body of Friends petitioned against his assumption of their garb upon the scaffold. If true, we think they betrayed a sensitiveness unworthy of their high and simple character. Whilst, however, we do all honor to their many noble and virtuous qualities, we do not wholly sympathize with that alacrity which prompts them to the renunciation of an erring brother. A sect obtains a reputation for goodness somewhat cheaply, if it inexorably cuts off every transgressing member.

THIS HOUR'S EXECUTION.

As we go to press, a human being is launched into eternity! His body, warm with health and life while this is written, will be still warm—though with its pulses irrevocably hushed—when this is read! Human hands, this hour, force a fellow-creature, in one step, hence to judgment, and with no softening of sickness on his heart—no clearing of the mind and passions by *that gradual and purifying separation of body and soul* which God makes the cleansing gates to his presence. Our heart sickens while we realize it. A stone's throw from where we are, this inhuman violence is going on, and none to stay it. Oh God! is it not time that pity and reason turned to look at this savage relic of inhuman law-murder, and substituted something for its fiendish violence!

The Governor of the State should have known that his power of pardon is given him to represent public opinion, when its sense of justice supersedes the law. This poor Eager killed a man in the belief that he had violated his wife. The husband dies this hour, for a blow few men in the community would have forborne to strike—and yet, with every man thinking so, and the Governor put in his place to represent this unanimous constituency, *the penalty is not commuted.* Away goes the drop—perhaps at the instant we are recording it—now!

It seems to us such a mockery—the eloquence with which the city is flooded at this moment—thousands assembled in the churches listening to eloquence on reforms and missions, while a human life is crushed out—the largest meeting of all, *literally, within hearing of the withdrawn bolt,* and the criminal unthought of and unnamed. Why there is not some good man, whom God has gifted with eloquence, to break his way into the pulpit of the Tabernacle and hold up his hand to the assembled multitude, with the news, that, but a step thence, a soul is being forced off violently to judgment! We trust the momentous subject of capital punishment will find an alarm in to-day's prison-bell, and arouse us to think of becoming human and merciful.

AN OLD-SCHOOL NEGRO.

The editor of the Barre Gazette, writing from Richmond, Va. says:

The United States Circuit Court is now in session here, held by Chief Justice Taney. I was present at the opening of the Court on Monday, and observed an aged negro, dressed in a long black coat, small clothes and stockings, knee-buckles, and other characteristics of fashion "sixty years ago." As the Chief Justice entered the door, the old fellow rose and was greeted by the head of the judiciary, with as much civility as if he had been the "Chief Executive Magistrate." The Chief Justice and the District Judge shook him cordially by the hand, and made many inquiries for his health. On inquiry, I found that he was the slave and favorite body servant of the late Chief Justice Marshall, whose memory the faithful negro cherishes in most affectionate remembrance. He is but a nominal slave, now, preferring, like many others here, not to be free. He dresses in precisely the style of his former distinguished master, and insists on being at the door of the court-room, as in days of yore, to tender his services to the esteemed successor of his old master. He takes the hat of the Chief Justice, fills his glass of water, and does several other offices as proudly as if he were the titled chamberlain of a king, and is treated with as much consideration by the very urbane and popular jurist, as his old master could have been.

How the War-System sustains Despotism.—"The whole energies of Russia," says Alison, "are turned towards the army. Commerce, the law, and *all* civil employments, are held in no esteem; *all the youth of any consideration betake themselves to the profession of arms.* Immense military schools, in different parts of the empire, annually send forth the whole flower of the population to this dazzling career."

Here is a recipe for despotism. Make war the chief business of a people, the military profession almost the *only* passport to wealth, or power, or fame, or social distinction; and we see the natural result in the autocracy and serfdom of Russia. Every army, every military school, the entire war-system is an ally of despotism. The war-system of Europe, transferred to this country, would ere long crush our liberties.

Associated Agency.

Central Office, 20 Wall Street, (basement,) New-York.

THE attention of persons who are desirous of improving their condition in life, is respectfully invited to the following great bargains now offered in this office.

864 acres of land with improvements, in Lyonsdale, Lewis Co. N. Y. 40 miles north of Utica, with half of the immense water-power of High Falls, on Black River a large and never-failing stream, with sixty feet fall, with a saw-mill in operation. The whole, or a part will be sold Price for the whole only $12,000.

A farm of 750 acres of the best quality of land in Frederick Co. Virginia, 40 miles from Washington City, in a high state of cultivation, with superior buildings, including stock and farming utensils, for $25,000.

3,000 acres of valuable land in Luzerne Co. Pennsylvania, with improvements, water-power, &c. for $37,500.

A large portion of the Town of Mount Carmel, Wabash Co. Illinois, with extensive tracts of land in the vicinity, including two villages, with Houses, Lots, Ferries Coal-Banks, and an abundance of water-power. Water communication by way of the lakes to New-York, and by the Mississippi to New Orleans.

A part of the town of Toolesborough, Louisa Co. Iowa, on the River Mississippi, with several thousand acres of land adjoining.

8,660 acres of first-rate rolling land in Lincoln Co. Missouri, on the Mississippi, 1,000 acres Prarie, the balance timbered land. Price $5,000.

20,000 acres of excellent farming land, very favorably situated in Hampshire Co. Virginia, at $2 an acre.

40,000 acres of choice selected land in Michigan, at $1 an acre.

2 500 acres of land in West Tennessee, Perry Co. will be sold, a great bargain.

60,000 acres, in Fentriss Co. Tennessee, in tracts varying from 1,000 to 5,000 acres each, of good farming land with Iron, Coal, Saltpetre, Epsom Salts, Copperas, and water-power.

214,000 acres in Washington, Green, Cock, Sevier and Blount counties, Tennessee, at 25 cents an acre. On these lands are Iron, Bituminous Coal, Fine Clay for Pottery, Feldspar, Quartz, Lime, Alum, and an inexhaustible supply of water-power.

Several of the above tracts of land are peculiarly adapted to the settlement of industrial Associations.

Also, for sale in this office, a great variety of Farms, Mills, Houses, Town-Lots, &c. in the different Counties of the States of New-York and New Jersey, and in all the Western States and Territories, at the lowest market prices, and with warranted title.

Having 26 Branch offices in the West, 9 in New England, and 4 in Europe, our Associated Agency offers the greatest facilities to persons wishing to buy, sell, or exchange Real Estate. All such are invited to command our services.

A principal object of the Association is, to put in practical operation a plan, by which persons wishing to purchase Real Estate of any description, may, with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense, be informed where they can find property for sale, adapted to their circumstances and wants; and by which the seller and the buyer may be brought together, to make such transactions as may be mutually beneficial.

We have already a rich Register of property for sale, to which we invite the attention of those who wish to purchase Real Estate of any description, or in any par of the country.

We also conduct an Agency for non-resident proprietors of Western Lands.

Agency for *procuring* and for *selling* Patents in the United States and in Europe.

Agency for receiving orders for Arnold's *Superior* Scythe Sharpening Rifles, Price in New-York, $6 a groce.

Agency for effecting insurance against fire in all parts of the Union.

Agency for sale of the Recipe for the genuine Berlin Hams, superior to Westphalias.

Agency for procuring Loans on Bond and Mortgage.

BUFFUM & Co.
Basement Office, 20 Wall Street
November 28, 1844.—tf.

Graham House, New Arrangement.

ROSWELL GOSS informs his friends and the public, that he has enlarged his Boarding Establishment, known as the

GRAHAM HOUSE, 63 BARCLAY STREET,

by adding to it the adjoining house, and is prepared to accommodate transient or permanent Boarders on the most favorable terms. All friends of Temperance desiring a quiet home, and freedom from the fumes of Alcohol and Tobacco, are invited to patronize this house. The vegetable system will be strictly adhered to, but a table will be served for those who prefer a mixed diet. Croton shower and warm baths free.

October 17. ROSWELL GOSS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
Broughton Meadows, }
Northampton, April 14, 1844. }

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortmen of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

No. 31, North Fifth street.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

Terms—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months. $10,00, in advance, will